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JOURNAL
OF A
SPY
IN
PARIS
1794

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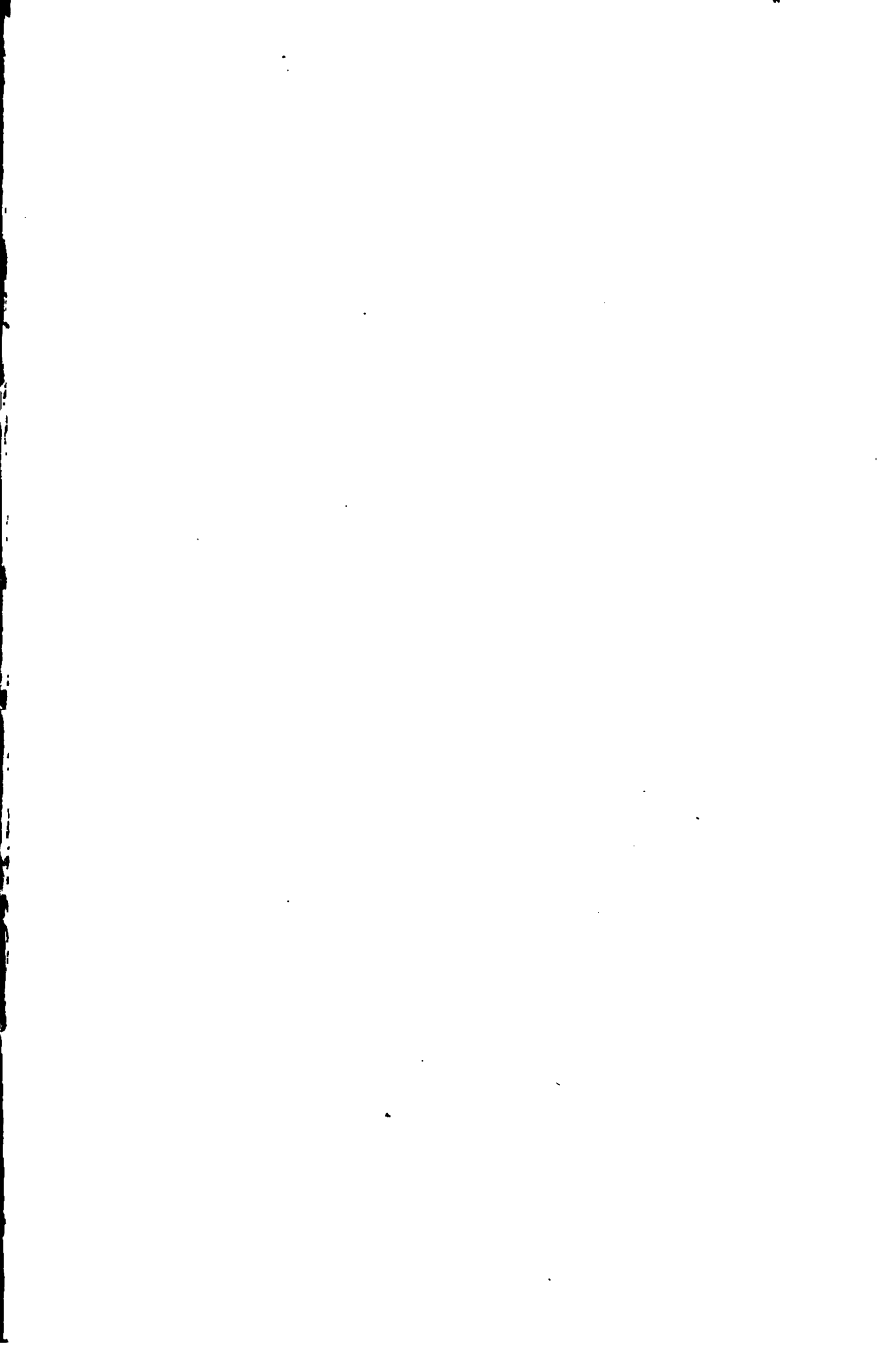


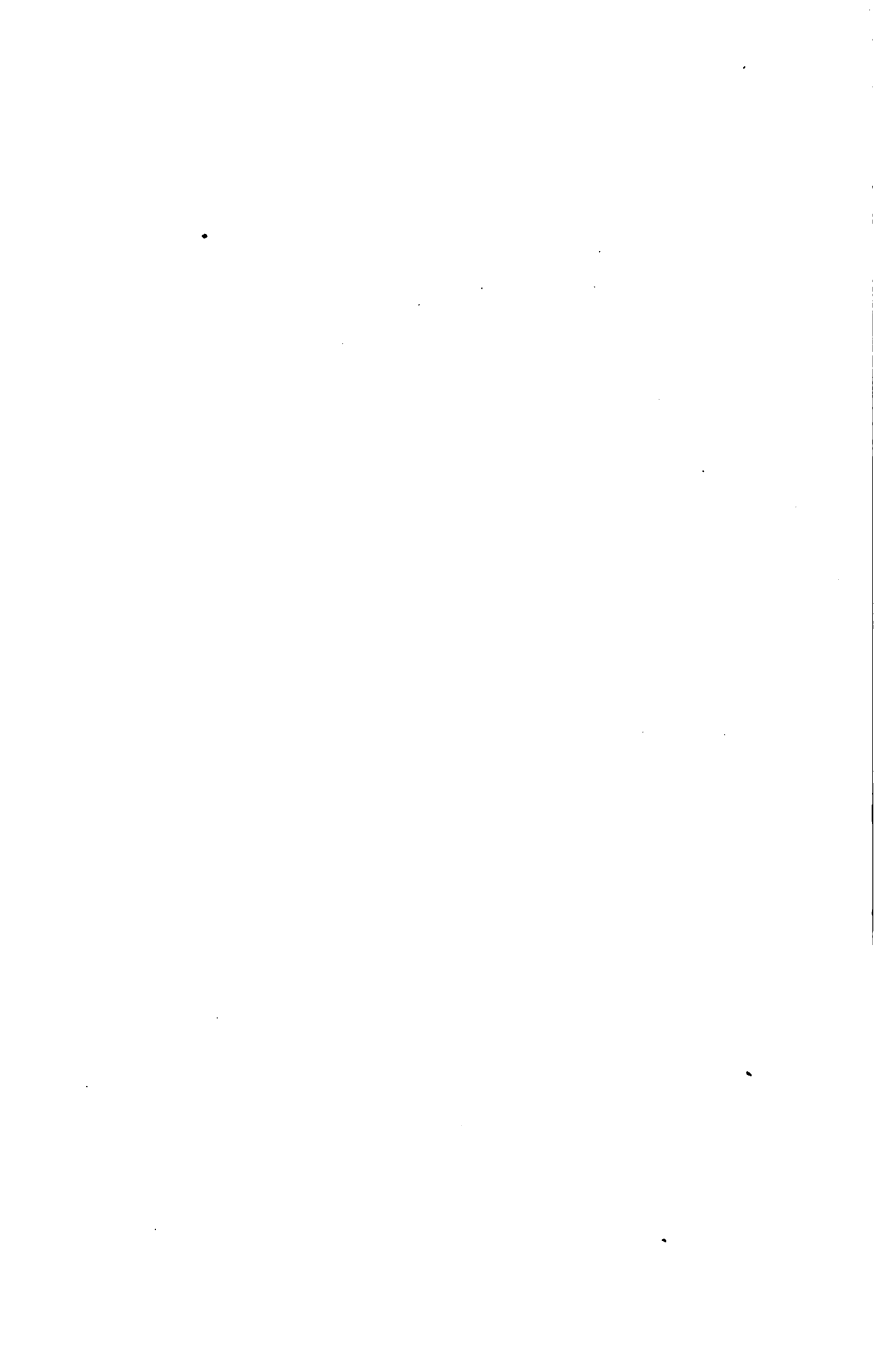
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FROM

John N.B. Hill

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THE JOURNAL OF
A SPY IN PARIS.

THE JOURNAL OF
A SPY IN PARIS
DURING THE REIGN OF TERROR.

JANUARY—JULY,

1794.

BY

RAOUL HESDIN.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1895.

Int 4230.451

✓



John W. B. Hill
Boston

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PREFACE.

THE following fragment appears to be part of the journal of an English spy in Paris, kept during the terrible months of January to July, 1794. "Raoul Hesdin," the name written upon the brown paper cover of the book, is apparently a mere blind. So is the title, "Quelques Observations sur les Industries," etc. No such person as "Hesdin" can be traced among the employés of the French Government at the time, but there was an enormous number of persons serving

the Committee of Public Safety in various capacities whom it would be now equally impossible to identify. Internal evidence may, indeed, supply many suggestions as to what kind of man he was, and as to his course of life, both in Paris and previously.

He appears to have been trained as a wood-engraver in France in his youth, to have been at one time in North America, and possibly also in Germany; to have been thoroughly familiar with Paris under the *ancien régime*, to have been present at many of the earlier scenes of the Revolution, especially in 1789 and 1790—he may even have seen and spoken with Arthur Young on his famous tour in the former year—and to have returned to Paris late in the year 1793, but whether from England or America seems doubtful. Also it is nowhere directly

stated, though it is difficult to put any but one construction on his words, that he was in the pay of the English Government at this latter time. Anyhow he obtained employment, apparently as an engraver or director of engravings, under the Committee of Public Safety, which, since the suspension of the "Constitution of 1793" in the previous summer, exercised an absolutely despotic and practically irresponsible power in France.

For the benefit of English readers it may be well to recall the composition of that Committee, the minuter history of which may be best studied in the excellent little work of M. Gros, "*Le Comité de Salut Public*" (Paris, 1893). Though this body of men was apparently, and for many purposes, such as the war, really united, the divisions in it, the increase of which Hesdin marks so clearly,

ran somewhat upon these lines: Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon were the theorists; Billaud, Collot d'Herbois, and Barère were the "men of their hands" in matters internal; Carnot, the two Prieurs, Lindet and Jean Bon St. André were the "War Ministry," the last-named being the head of the naval department. It must be remembered that, under this Committee, "Ministries" up to the 12th Germinal, and "Commissions of Government" after that date, continued to exist, but wholly without power. The "Lesser Committee," or Committee of General Security, of which the leaders were Vadier, Amar, Lebas, and David, and which always seems to have got on badly with the greater, was more directly concerned with matters of police.

It would be quite out of place here to

attempt any summary of the events of the Revolution, either internal or external, during these seven months; and it must suffice to say that the leading fact is the steady elimination of parties and individuals by Robespierre for his own benefit. The followers of Hébert fell in March, those of Danton in April; each party left, however, a "tail," which gradually united with those members of the Committees who were themselves threatened, to work the Revolution of Thermidor. In the history of the war Lord Howe's naval victory of the 1st of June, 1794, did little to compensate for the continued success of the French Republic on land. The defeats of the Vendéens, and the surrender of Toulon in December, 1793, allowed the whole attention of Carnot to be concentrated on the north-eastern frontier,

where the lack of accord between the English and Austrians resulted in the evacuation of the Netherlands by the allies after Jourdan's victory of Fleurus (June 26th). Austria and Prussia were indeed turning their thoughts more towards Poland, and England stood alone in seriously desiring the restoration of the Bourbons in France—an event which, as Hesdin points out, might be by no means such an unmixed blessing, or such a certain pledge of peace, as the English Government supposed. Holland was threatened, as it had been threatened at the end of 1792, but was not yet attacked. Hesdin does not expect it to make any resistance. The Spaniards were still fighting on the East and West Pyrenees, but the Sardinian Government had pretty well shot its bolt.

Hesdin was of sufficient importance to be

allowed to work in a room in the Tuileries, near to that in which the Committee itself sat. He seems to have been intimate, in the practical way in which we should expect to find a spy intimate, with several persons of consideration. Fouché, if the "Nantais" is rightly identified with that astute person, was evidently known to him previously. Some one high in the confidence of Danton appears to have received a large sum of money from him, and, on the fall of the Dantonist party, he considers himself to be in some danger. He had, however, other channels of information besides Fouché, and was associated with an Englishman or American whom he calls V——, whom it is impossible to identify, but who certainly seems to have been a spy also.

When and how Hesdin left Paris does

not appear ; he is always longing to get away. Mr. Pitt, it is well known, left a great deal of freedom of movement to his secret agents. The date of "Fructidor l'an II." on the cover may be a part of the blind ; but if not, the journal was brought to conclusion between August 18th and September 16th. The present mutilated condition of the journal suggests an unascertainable number of leaves missing at the end, a few missing at the beginning, and two or three also lost a few pages further on. It is, of course, a matter of great regret that the diary, as we now have it, breaks off within a week of Thermidor 9th. That Hesdin's sources of information were not always correct, may be gathered from his tone of extreme despondency in the month of July ; for though the success of the Thermidorian

movement which overthrew Robespierre, and ultimately the Terrorist Government, was up to the last moment doubtful, we have abundant evidence that the hopes of the opposition did continue to rise from day to day, and of this Fouché would be sure to be well informed. Probably Fouché, if it were he, did not always care to communicate his inmost thoughts. The further question arises, why Hesdin should have desired the overthrow of Robespierre—why he should have identified himself with any party in the State instead of acting as a mere dispassionate observer. To this there seem to be three answers: first, that no peace could be concluded between the Allies and a Terrorist Government, and that Hesdin, whose sympathies—before the revolution, at least—seem to have been as much French as English,

ardently desired the re-establishment of peace; secondly, that, in his new capacity, he had had to submit to hob and nob with the filthy canaille of the revolutionary committees of several of the sections, especially his own, and must have learned to loathe the persons as well as the principles of these extreme Radicals; lastly, that only in the overthrow of this "Government by spies and spies of spies" could there be any hope of his getting out of his present employment, and the "blood-dripping city," which he had once loved so well.

It may, then, be assumed that his information on political matters is neither very new nor very important. The question whether he sent any other "information by the usual channel" to England can only be answered when the secret service papers

shall have been thoroughly explored. The present fragment looks more as if it were intended for the information of some private friend, either at Philadelphia or in England ; or it may be that the address to "M. J. Hesdin, Bureau des Affaires Étrangères," in the former place, is elaborately invented, to conceal the real destination of the manuscript ; and, if this be the case, it may also be supposed that the social conditions of the starving capital of France were the real object of Hesdin's study, and such study the reason of his mission. On these points his observations seem to possess no little interest and value. No contemporary book, either in French or English, paints these conditions quite in the light which this manuscript throws upon them. That "famine and the dread of famine" is the real clue to the

horrors of 1794 is tolerably certain ; that the most drastic socialistic measures only aggravated a thousandfold the conditions they were intended to relieve, sufficiently appears from these pages. For the rest, Hesdin appears to have been a man of some erudition, keen powers of observation, plenty of pluck and more tender sympathies than might have been expected in a spy.

The style in which the diary is written shows more evidence of carelessness than of haste. It is always that of an educated man, and is even stilted and antiquated in places. There are, as is natural, many Gallicisms, many passages in which it is perfectly clear that the writer thinks now in French, now in English ; yet his spelling of French names is little better than that of some of the Sansculottes, whom he so much despised.

There are, it may also be remarked, one or two curious Scotticisms, for which it is difficult to account. The use of the title "monsieur" throughout, instead of "citizen," indicates either perfect confidence that no unfriendly eye would read, or else indifference to Republican etiquette. Little trouble is taken to explain the names of men, places, or things, and much knowledge of Paris and Parisian life is taken for granted. Where, therefore, it has been found possible to identify a person or a date, a note has been made to that effect, except in cases of such well-known names as those of the Great Committee, or, *e.g.*, the painter David; but much still remains for which no adequate explanation is forthcoming.

Contempt and hatred for the Republic and all things Republican are blended on every

page of this diary, with a genuine love for France and the French people. Can the Englishman who lives, as the late Sir H. Maine said, *in fœce Romuli*, altogether afford, in 1895, to neglect the terrible object lesson afforded to him by Paris one hundred and one years ago?

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QUELQUES OBSERVATIONS
SUR
LES INDUSTRIES ET LES BEAUX ARTS
À PARIS

L'AN II. DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE UNE ET INDIVISIBLE.

*L'ENVOYER À M. MARIE JOSEPH HESDIN,
BUREAU DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES,
PHILADELPHIA, L'AMÉRIQUE.*

RAOUL HESDIN,
GRAVEUR ET CISELEUR EN BOIS AU SERVICE DU TRÈS HONORABLE
COMITÉ DE LA CONVENTION NATIONALE.

PARIS, FRUCTIDOR, L'AN II.

VIVE LA RÉPUBLIQUE!



THE DIARY OF RAOUL HESDIN.

[*The first three sheets of the Diary are torn out.*]

published, and copies despatched to all the Sections.* I was discussing this table with an *enraged* friend of mine (a stonemason) not long ago, and found him quite sensible of the corruption with which the fixture of prices has already come to be associated:

Dec. ? 1793.
Injustice
of the
Maximum.
Dialogue
with a
stonemason.

* This apparently refers to the *chiffre* of the Maximum, of which various sketches were circulated in 1793, though the complete and final tariff was only promulgated in February, 1794. Cf. note *infra*, p. 31.

Dec ? "For v'là," says he, "they are good patriots who have fixed it—the best of patriots—but, citizen, who shall prevent the *National Agents* to whom is entrusted the task of calculating the cost of transport of the article to Paris—who shall prevent them from being *coquins*? And the *benefice*, citizen,—look at the *benefice* to the shopkeeper,—it is at ten per centum! Bah! but it is too high!" Paris has been, in fact, so long accustomed to be fed by the Governments, *whether Royal or Municipal*, that the inhabitants cannot understand that any Individual is entitled to a fair profit on the sale of provisions. "And we are all *sans travail*, these eight weeks," he added. "Bah! it is *heads* we must have before this will go better!" I might have suggested, had it been politic to do so, that he was *sans travail* chiefly

because all those who could employ were Dec. ? either in prison or in dread of prison. But it is hard to expect a man to be reasonable who has only the pay of *forty sous per week*,* and his ration of black bread: meat they hardly see. The only class in regular employ are those under the Army Contractors.

The year is fitly closing in disaster after disaster. The fatal event of the 19th,† to ^{Gloomy prospects in La Vendée.} which I had long looked forward as inevitable, has been followed by a crushing disaster in the north-west to the Catholic army of the Vendéens.‡ As the most ferocious vengeance is already being taken on the unhappy Toulonniers by the butcher Fréron,

* Danton's "Law of the Forty Sous," granting payment to the lowest class for attending section meetings, passed on September 5, 1793.

† The fall of Toulon on its evacuation by the English.

‡ The battle of Savenay. See note, p. 107.

4 *THE DIARY OF RAOUL HESDIN.*

Dec. ?
—

The Allies
have neglected La
Vendée.

so we may expect to see the *Reign of Terror* established definitely in Lower Brittany. I can't but think the allies to have been neglectful of the importance of these *Rebels*; their leaders are men of immense determination, and, though unsuccessful in Normandy, may yet live to cause the Republic some trouble in their own province. It's a poor reflection, but a natural one for an Englishman, that the destruction of Toulon means the destruction of French commerce in the waters of the Levantine, and the destruction of French commerce must mean the advantage of British. Let the *British Convention of Edinburgh** take

* See Jephson's "History of the Platform," vol. i. pp. 201 and 211. This refers to one of the numerous movements of seditious persons in the United Kingdom, against which the stringent Acts of Mr. Pitt's ministry were directed.

note of this fact; though, for my part, I wish
Muir and all his brethren were safe at Botany
Bay.

I have made my visit to St. Sulpicia. State of the church of St. Sulpice,
It's the saddest thing in the world: the
Virgin's chapel, which had been so beautifully restored by M. Wailly after the fire at the Fair of 1763,* is stripped of everything. M. Pigalle's glorious *Virgin of the High Altar* is battered beyond recognition, and the head of the Child knocked off. But what are our and of that of St. Denys. local losses compared to those of Nôtre Dame and St. Dennis! I happened to be made acquainted, a day or two ago, with a priest who was present at the recent exhumation of the royal corpses. I learned from Old methods of embalming. him some curious details as to the old methods

* The Foire St. Germain, part of which used to be held in the church.

6 THE DIARY OF RAOUL HESDIN.

Dec. 30th. of embalming with quicksilver; and much else that would have delighted the learned Browne.* It seems that from the sixteenth century the greedy Monks substituted copper crowns for the real gold ones with which the Kings used to be buried. Several bodies, he says, were found almost intact—Henry IV.'s among them, and the Marshal Turenne. Some of the monuments (in a mutilated condition, for most were broken in the process) to the Museum;† the bones of the *crowned scelerats and coquins* were heaved into a common trench!

Certificates
of "good
citizenship."

30th.—One of the most *ridiculous* of all the tyrannies, and one concerning which I experienced some difficulty before my entry to my present employ, is the *Certificates of*

* Sir T. Browne, author of "Hydriotaphia."

† *Sic*: the museum referred to is the Louvre.

good Citizenship. Here the *Town Hall* * puts Dec. 30th.
 forth all its most arbitrary powers. It is absolutely necessary, either by bribery, or by secret influence, or by an *affectation of extreme patriotism*, to possess one's self of the little card or paper on which, together with a description of one's personal appearance, a note is made of one's dwelling-place, age, and employ. The paper is obtained first at *Section Meeting*, signed by the President and secretary of the same, and then forwarded to the Town Hall in copy. It is, indeed, the chief business of the Committee at Section Meetings to allot these papers. Any person who has been continually resident since 1789 must produce proof of having served in the

* The "Town Hall," or "the Municipals," is Hesdin's usual expression for the Commune, or Town Council of Paris, which sat at the Hôtel de Ville, under the Maire.

Dec. 30th. Blues,* paid all taxes including those so ridiculously called *patriotic gifts*, signed no Monarchical petitions, been rejected at no Republican, a member of no Monarchical clubs; not have held more than one office or received more than one salary from the Republick at the same time; and the like. By strict law, seven signatures of Committee-men† are necessary, but such are hardly ever present to give force to it. A man is at all times liable to be called on to present his *carte de civisme* to any Agent of the Government, or to any person representing himself to be such. It is a favourite device of the *Municipals* for the extortion of moneys to summon a whole family to their bar, and then, cancelling their certificates without

* National Guards, *vide infra*.

† *I.e.* Revolutionary committees of sections.

assigning any reason, to leave the dread of Dec. 30th. being considered suspect hanging over their heads. It is the fashion to wear one's *carte* stuck in the hat-band, and I observe that some carry their card of membership of the *Jacobin or Cordelier Clubs* in the same place. But perhaps the most curious fashion is that Municipal and official vanity. of the Presidents of the *Sectional Committees*, who, as a pendant to the broad tricolour neck-ribbon, carry a little *plaque*, like the traditional *stone tables of the Law*, on one side of which is printed in very small letters the *Rights of Man*, and on the other the *Constitution*,* or an abridgment of the same. These scarves and *insignia of office* form one of the greatest attractions in the eyes of the vulgar sort. There is even a difference in

* The abortive "Constitution of the year I." (or 1793) is here meant.

Jan. 6th.

The ladies
and the
cockade.

the way of wearing the *bonnet rouge*, and in the size and shape of the tricolour cockade. With Mddles. les Citoyennes this has become a matter of coquetry.* It is extreme *patriotism* to wear it very large and between the breasts ; it is *moderation at the least* to allow it to peep from under the curls. Our Rulers are not above constant proclamations that it be worn large and conspicuous. But against the ladies what decrees are operative? Nay, I meet occasionally men in the streets who do not seem to have *heard of the Revolution*, who wear powder and dress elegantly, and dine, no doubt, luxuriantly. They are getting fewer, however, every day, and that they exist at all is only explicable by bribery.

Question of
public
bake-shops.

1794 : Jan. 6th.—Famine ! famine ! When

* *Sic.*

the Municipals think it necessary, as they did Jan. 6th.
last week, to placard the streets with the joyful tidings that a *thousand loaves of sugar* have been received by them for distribution to the grocers, we cannot be said to be many days removed from famine. There is a question continually agitated as to the advisability of creating public bake-shops, to be owned and worked by servants of the Municipals. Such a plan would no doubt afford *warm places* to a number of their favourites, but it would respond neither to œconomy nor common sense. They cry out against the selfishness of the bakers, the grasping and grinding of those who have Capital, the inefficiency of the Tariff law, and the like; but what is really necessary is a little more, nay a good deal more, freedom. I believe now prices might be almost at the

Jan. 6th. level of their *maximum* were the fellows who used to sell bread rolls in the market alleys allowed to ply their trade. These, however, have long disappeared, and there are *considerably fewer bakers' shops than in 1789*. It is the fear of losing custom that alone will keep prices down, not the fear of being called a *rich egoist*, or even of losing your head ; for where many are in mischief each thinks he will escape the threshing. And even on their miserable plan of force, if there were half a dozen bakers more in each Section the disgraceful scenes of the mornings might be avoided.

A city on
rations.

Paris is on Ration like a besieged city, each person receives from his Section a baker's card, and is thereby entitled to receive from the baker, at the maximum price, as much bread *as the Municipals consider* sufficient

for him and his family. This ration varies Jan. 8th.
weekly. The baker is bound to calculate,
from the number of mouths he feeds, the
quantity of corn he will need to buy from
the Municipals, who distribute it weekly.
We, who are not obliged to *faire queue* at the
bakers' doors—thanks to my employ, I am
exempt from this, and a bare sufficiency of
bread is delivered, together with meat and
vegetables, at my lodging daily—have very
little conception of the sufferings of those
who are. The queues are somewhat dif-
ferently regulated in different Sections, but
my host's daughters, who take it in turn to
go, are often waiting from four of the clock
after midnight till eight or nine in the
morning.

8th.—There is posted to-day, at all the
shambles at St. Genevieve's, a notice, that

Use of
napkins
compulsory
in the
queues.

Jan. 8th. only napery* is to be brought by the women in the queues to fetch their meat away. 'Tis because these ladies were in the habit of breaking one another's heads with the tin platters they are wont to carry. Most dangerous and unjust are the arrangements ; and most infamous schools of morals for the girls, are these same queues. The police, who stand to marshal the applicants and receive their allotted *numéros*, will allow any who slips a few sous into their hand to take her place in the front rank, though she arrive never so late ; and then perhaps those who have been standing for hours will lose their turn, or find the stall empty and closed before it arrives ; nor will the numero of one day serve for the next. The most disorderly scenes are, however, enacted at

Iniquity of
management
by police.

Scuffling for
coals and
wood.

* Napkins or linen (a Scotticism).

the *Portes* on the River Seine, where no Jan. 8th.
regular queues are possible for those who
wish to provide themselves with slender
rations of wood or coal for fuel. The *Porte
du Charbon* is right faced to the Grève,*
and the width of the square behind gives
room for plenty of scuffling when the boats
discharge their cargoes. But at all the
chantiers † on the upper part of the river

*[Here it is evident that there is only one leaf
missing, or two at most.]*

me by Meunier and d'Arcon, two Clerks in
the war office. The innumerable quantity Shoes for
the army.
of shoes required for the army has caused
an edict that the shoemakers should work

* The Place de Grève, where the Hôtel de Ville was
situated.

† Wood-yards.

Jan. 8th. only for the Contractors, at the rate of two pair of shoes per week. As it is, many of the soldiers go barefoot or in *sabots*, and the *requisitioned shoes* are too often made of other material than leather. But it cannot be denied that the Government, indifferent to everything else, takes excellent care for the health of the troops on foreign service. The enormous sums made by the Contractors intercepts * a part of this benevolence. Yet I believe the army to be, with the exception of those sent against the *Vendéens*, united to a man in detestation of this bloody Government; and I sometimes amuse myself by reflecting on the clean sweep that would be made of *Messieurs of the Faction*, if any one of the Generals of the Frontier should propose to the Enemy a six weeks'

The army
hates the
Government.

* *Sic.*

truce, come back, and burn Paris and these Jan. 9th: rascals alive in it, restore the King, and then march against the Austrians again. My word on it, France would be for that man! Had *Dumourrier** been an honest man, he would have effected this. The ludicrous way in which a Government, consisting almost wholly of Civil men, pretends to criticize the action of *the Military*, and sends to prison and the scaffold† honourable soldiers for strategies which, perhaps, are the saving of their armies, is patent to all the world.

9th.—My new work-room at the palace‡ Hesdin's work-room at the Tuileries. is at the bottom of a long corridor, at a

* Dumouriez, the great French general, victor of Jemappes, defeated at Neerwinden, went over to the allies, March, 1793. He died at Henley-on-Thames.

† E.g. the two Custines, father and son, and the narrow escape of Hoche himself.

‡ The Tuileries.

Jan. 9th. short right angle to that which leads to the chamber of the Principal Committee (called the *Public Safety*). It is dark, but not inconvenient; but one is annoyed by the constant tramp of *Blues** and messengers in the passage outside. Cannons with matches burning are always kept at the entrance of the Palace. Courriers are for ever on the move. I walked the other day from *Section Meeting*† with a very honest man called Henri, who has recently received a place as Courrier Extraordinary. He tells me that he received an offer of two hundred livres *per mensem* from a friend of Hébert's if he would employ himself in *tracking*

The system
of courriers.

* The National Guards.

† The writer belonged to the section of the Panthéon, in which his dwelling, in the Rue St. Jacques, was situated. *Vide infra.*

aristocrats, many of his former master's Jan. 10th. friends being known to be in hiding in the City; but he thought it a dishonest employ, and excused himself. He is now in receipt of a good wage, but the service is hard. They have twenty-four Extraordinary Courriers, who are bound to be in turn booted and spurred night and day in the gallery of the ante-chamber of the committee. One of these men broke his shoulder, when on service in Belgium, from a fall from his horse, last autumn, but he has never received a penny in compensation, being dismissed at once.

10th.—I hear, from the very best sources, The Emigrés are hard up for money. that the Emigration are in the greatest straits for money: the news from Toulon has dashed all their hopes; they dare not trust more to us; they believe, as indeed do all here as

Jan. 10th. well as on the frontier, our Government may
 any day be overturned; and all they have
 to live on is the charity of the Empress of
 Russia, and the Prince* is on his knees to
 her for more.† Monsieur is at Turin, or some-
 where in the north of Italy. They babble of
 assisting Vendé;‡ the Pope sends *blessed*
banners and the like, but no one sends any
guns. It is a great deal of pity that Lord
 Moira appears to have done so little in this
 direction.§ But Lord Grenville appears de-
 termined to shut his ears to every suggestion

La Vendée
 neglected.

* D'Artois.

† Fornéron, "Histoire Générale des Emigrés," vol. i.
 p. 293, says that the gifts of Catharine to the cause did not
 exceed four million francs.

‡ *Sic.*

§ Hesdin was quite right. The English Government was
 singularly blind to the excellent opening afforded by the
 Vendéan insurrection. Lord Moira's futile effort was in
 December, 1793.

that is made to him by the soberer party Jan. 12th.
among the Emigrés.*

12th.—I have at times some of M. David's David the painter.
work to engrave; it is clear, but deficient in
light and shadow. I do not know any one
in Paris who inspires me with more horror
and disgust than this person. His hideous
countenance, with a great swelling on one
cheek, is the reflection of his hideous heart.
It is said that during the Prison Massacres
he employed himself in the courtyard of the
prison making drawing-studies of the agonies
of the dying. He does not, happily for me, Revolutionary engraving.
interest himself in the medals and tail-pieces
with the *image of Brutus* and the *galley-*
slaves' cap † *between two piques*, which form

* A somewhat similar complaint occurs in Mr. Miles's
"Correspondence" (ii. 122).

† The origin of the red cap as a Revolutionary emblem is

Jan. 12th. the staple of my work. I can, however, flatter myself on having introduced a better style of setting than heretofore used* for the seals of the Republic. I am just designing an Oval with a very small interior beading, surmounted by festooned oak-leaves above and draped roses dependent. If I could only persuade them to allow Madam Republick to drop her heavy *bundle of antient Roman weapons*, or *stow it under her petticoats*, and to take off her hideous cap, I would not be ill pleased. Tiolier's† work is sometimes graceful—much more so, I think, than Dupré's—though with ungraceful subjects to work upon. He's now at an awkward design of *an eye on the top of a* a subject of doubt. See the article "Bonnet Rouge" in the "Dictionnaire de la Révolution," par Bonsin et Challamèl.

* *Sic.*

† Tiolier was a celebrated medallist and *mintier*.

mountain, which looks more like a symbol Jan. 13th.
of the Freemasons' than a *Sun of Liberty*.

The absurd passion for the *Red Cap* has gone The Red Cap.
so far that it has been adopted and decreed
to be the official head-dress of all *Municipals*.
"If one wants a Statue to escape mutilation,"
says F——, "one decorates it with a red cap,"
and even your *Virgin Mothers* are thus
transferable into *Goddesses of Liberty* at will.

13th.—One hears of constant complaints Evasions of the Tariff law.
of the sale of provisions furtively at mid-
night. There is a poultry-stall next door
to *the Foy*,* which I am told is entered by
a back alley, and does a roaring trade in the
evening. *Female hawkers* also evade the
law, by private understanding with the stall-
keepers in the markets, purchasing large
quantities of small provisions, eggs, butter,

* Café Foy in the Palais Royal (?).

Jan. 13th. and the like, and vending them from door to door, under the pretence that they are *linen wares*, with which, for a show, the tops of their baskets are covered. I have myself made an arrangement with *Citoyenne Corniche*, whose husband works under me, to supply me with an omelette twice a week!

Origin of
"strikes."

The porters and bargemen on the Seine are a fierce and independent race, and utterly refuse to submit to the *Tarifa* for the carriage of fuel, both on and from the river. Their wage is supposed to be fixed by the Municipality, as the agricultural wage used to be fixed by the Justices in Quarter Sessions* in

* An Act of 19 George II., empowering interested persons to demand that the J.P.s should fix the rate of wages, evidently recognizes that the practice had been almost disused. It was common enough in the seventeenth century, but Hesdin can hardly have been familiar with it in his

1794.] "*THE MADNESS OF KING GEORGE.*" 25

England. It's supposed one-third higher Jan. 24th.
than in 1790, but not a week passes but all
the men in some wood-yard throw down their
packs and refuse to lift them till a much
higher *pourboire* is given. If we should have
a sharp winter now, the result would be
terrible. It *costs four livres a load at my door*
now—nearly double the price of 1789 in the
Vaugirard.*

24th.—They have given at the City Theatre King George
ridiculed on
the stage.
a play entitled *The Madness of King George*, †

youth. See Cunningham, "Growth of English Industry and
Commerce," p. 359.

* "It" evidently means wood for fuel from the chantiers.
This seems to indicate that Hesdin stayed in Rue Vaugirard
(not far from his present quarters) in 1789.

† "La Folie de Georges ou l'Ouverture du Parlement
d'Angleterre," a comedy by Lebrun-Tossa, was given at the
City Theatre for the first time on January 23, 1794. Pitt
and the Prince of Wales are massacred by the people, and
George is drawn in a chariot by Burke, Grenville, and

Jan. 24th. ; in which *our coming Revolution* is predicted with all the absurdity possible ; Mr. Fox the leader, and the Tower the Bastille. How men can be found to play such parts ! But some twenty leading actors of the old Stage, who had made it the most famous in Europe, are in prison, and their lives daily threatened.

Talma, the actor.

Talma has prostituted himself to them ; not that I mean he plays in such as this, but he lives and plays. He has immense histrionic talent, but his voice is rather monotonous ; he mouths and rants, both with voice and gesture.

Gambling-hells.

The Government is making great efforts to close the gambling-booths. The rage for gambling appears to have attained a fearful height since the commencement of

Chesterfield to "Beedlam" (Welschinger, "Théâtre de la Révolution," p. 205).

the Revolution. There were some scandalous revelations recently made of the system of *the black mail* being levied by Agents of the Government itself, to wink at the *loto* and *biribi* tables. The fellows who used to tell your fortunes with a greasy pack of cards on the Pont Neuf for three-halfpence, have been hunted away, but there are plenty of Calliostros* left plying their trade under false colours. M. Hébert's filthy broad-sheet, Jan. 24th entitled, *Le Père Duchêne* is now appearing four times *per decade*: it is incredible how such stuff can have had such a long life; and at fifty sous a month! Every one says that its publication must cost far more, and that it is helped out by the plundering of State funds; but every one reads it at the street corners, and the Cour des

Père
Duchesne.

* *Sic.*

Jan. 30th. Forges* is a scene of great excitement at the appearance of every fresh *numéro*. Sometimes there are home truths in it, as when it is pointed out that the soldiers are *shod with brown paper, and fed with black beans for coffee*.

A German
prince acting
as a
Revolution
Agent.

30th.—There is nothing more strange in the Revolution than the wonderful people it attracts from foreign countries. Without mentioning Mr. Paine my countryman, there are at least four Persons of Quality from beyond the Rhine who have played or are playing their part with the most violent. One of these, an actual Prince of the Empire, recently lived in a garret opposite my dwelling, and acted as a Spy for the Government; one supposes that he filled his breeches pocket

* Where *Père Duchêne* was sold. I am unable to identify the locality.

fairly thereby, but it could not and did not prevent him from becoming "suspected."

'Tis veritably a Fever which possesses such men. In spite of the denunciations of our Government, which are so much in fashion, it's easy to see that Lord Stanhope's * speech of last week, which has found its way into several French newspapers, has made an impression upon thinking Frenchmen.

Feb. 3rd.—Oh, Posterity! please to take note that there is a new town in France.

The name of
Marseilles
to be
changed.

It is called "Sans-nom." It used to be called *Marseilles*, and then attained some celebrity as a trading-port. I am surprised at no destruction in the name of *Revolutionary principles*; it is extraordinary what influence

* Lord Stanhope spoke in the Lords on January 23rd, in favour of a peace, but it is not easy to see why the speech of a leading Opposition lord should be interpreted in Paris as appears in the text.

Feb. 4th. a few phrases, a few ideas, possibly right or righteous in themselves, but without convenience to the existing circumstances, have over these people. It was one of the Brissotines, or Brissot himself, who said, "*I would rather our Colonies perished than a single principle of the Revolution were slighted.*" *

The Govern-
ment has no
"secrets,"

Feb. 4th. — I have little heart in such scenes for the compilation of a regular Journal; if there were the least chance of my obtaining employment elsewhere or a passport to leave, I would leave this hideous shambles to-morrow. I am here to discover the secrets of a Government which has none, to unriddle mysteries when everything is but

* Prig as Brissot was, he spoke in the heat of the moment, and would probably have been the first to denounce, in modern England, a distinguished professor who, without his, Brissot's excuse, made an almost exactly similar remark about our Indian Empire.

too patent, to assign causes to effects when Feb. 4th.
famine, hideous famine, is the cause of every-except
thing. At times I console myself with the famine.
thought that I am taking part in a piece
that will one day be read and re-read on His-
tory's page—if, indeed, all History be not
destroyed and the End of all things come.
'Tis this present thing, famine, and the dread
of worse famine, that has converted the most
loveable and hospitable people in Europe into
a *den of tigers*. The name of hatred most The Acca-
frequently upon all lips is not Aristocrat, pareurs.
but "Accapareur" (that is, one who buys
up provisions in order to sell them at an
enhanced price). For this the absurd law
of which I have recorded the chiffre above.*

* (Deest). That is, the law of the Maximum, fixing the
price of all the necessaries of life. Various decrees—the
most important being in the months of May, 1793, September,
1793, February, 1794 (when the completed tables appeared)

Feb. 4th. For this the patrols at the Grilles of the *Barriers* or entrances to the city from the home counties; which are requisitioned to supply the capital, indifferent to their loss, and, indeed, to all but its own daily needs. For this the same patrols at all the ports or landing-places along the quays of the Seine River. Yet these precautions are as fruitless as are the efforts of the Police of the markets; it seems impossible to prevent those who have money—and there are many such, with whom the dread of losing it alternates with the indifference to everything except the enjoyment of the actual moment

Hopeless-
ness of
attempt to
enforce
tariff.

—gradually established it, and it continued nominally in force till December, 1794. It did nothing to alleviate the distress, and, as a matter of fact, was, of course, constantly evaded; though, during the early summer, it seems to have been really enforced in all small transactions in market overt, by the agency of the Terror.

—from getting a larger share of food than Feb. 5th.
 those who have nothing. There are eating-
 houses, even within the circuit of the *Palace*
Royal, where it is possible to dine scarce less
 sumptuously than in the reign of the late
 King. “Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow
 we die.”

5th.—Perhaps the most useful Proposal New
metrical
system.
 hitherto made during the Revolution is that
 for a system of *uniform measures* of weight,
 of length, and of superficies. Although
 it must take a century at least before
 such system can really make way, for the
 daily customs of the ignorant and poor are
 the last things the most despotick of
 governors can change, it will be a great
 blessing to future ages to get rid of the
 infinite variations of the *livre* and the *aune*
 which obtained in the several Provinces.

Feb. 5th. But, of course, it is rendered ridiculous by
 New calendar. being tacked on to their new Kalendar and
 their new divisions of the clock. By a recent
 decree the system is declared to be completed, but with rare common sense its compulsory adoption is deferred for a period. Will Mesdemoiselles of the Opera measure their too scanty garments by the *mètre*?

The Jacobin
 Club.

Last night to the Gallery of the Great Club * for the first time since my return. It is held in a mean, straight edifice, formerly a Monastery. The windows are all in the roof, and additional supports have had to be contrived for the roof, which gives it an ungainly aspect inside. The Galleries at each end are crowded with those who applaud *the more patriotic orators*; and the art of filling

* The celebrated "Jacobin Club," so called because held in the Jacobin convent off the Rue St. Honoré.

these * with a man's own friends when he is Feb. 5th.
going to speak is not the least necessary
among *parliamentary tricks* practised here.
The Club is the very workshop of delation
and denunciation. When an individual dis-
pleases it, a *deputation* is forthwith sent off to
the Town Hall or the Committees to accuse
him. The debates of the Club are as fully
reported as those of the Convention, or may
be read condensed in the *Journal of the Moun-
tain*. The crush as we came out was enor-
mous. By ill-luck I had, in perfect safety as I
thought, a net purse with a few coins, a roll Hesdin's
pocket
picked.
of one hundred livres Assignats, and my *carte
de sûreté*, all buttoned tight inside the breast
pocket of my coat. When I got to the
bridge I put down my hand, and, behold,
two cross slashes, evidently made with a razor,

* *Sc.* galleries.

Feb. 8th.
Patriotic
thief.

represented my possessions. But the humour of the rascal was good, for I have just received by the *petite poste* my carte de sûreté again, with an intimation from my very patriotic *filou* that, though regretfully obliged to borrow my Assignats for his necessities, he would not for the world disquiet *so brave a sansculotte* respecting his Citizenship. But it will evidently not do to be careless about what I carry—

“Who steals my purse steals dress;”

but I might easily have been carrying papers which would have given the Government a right to steal other heads as well as my own; and thereby have made my patriotic *filou* a rich man!

King Louis
XVII. at
the Temple
prison.

8th.—There are over two hundred men told off every week from *the Blues*, to act as a special guard for the young King's prison in

the *Templars*; one hears endless stories of projects for his escape, and also of the cruel treatment to which he is subjected. It's probable that before very long he will be murdered, and his aunt and sister transferred to some common prison.

For genuine ribaldry and folly a section meeting of our good neighbours at the Luxemburg* (who have recently changed their name, to match the *prevailing passion for antiquity*, into that of the Section of *Mucius Scævola*) is to be commended. There is much rivalry in incendiary motions between us and those; and between us we embrace more rascaldom and more *Revolutionary nonsense* than any two sections in Paris. There are about three thousand electors in each, and not a hundred regularly

Feb. 8th.

The sections
of the
Luxemburg
and Pan-
théon.

* The section of that name to the west of Section Panthéon.

Feb. 8th. attend the meetings. Even of these all business is managed by half a dozen or so. We sit at the old Carmelite Nunnery,* they at St. Sulpicia's; and the arches which I remember ringing with the finest music of the Fête Dieu, now only re-echo the filthy brawls of greedy and bloodthirsty demagogues. I was deputed to take a message to them the other day, and Roché, their president, insisted on kissing me on both cheeks. A more disgusting scoundrel does not live, though his secretary, Jehannot, is not far behind him.

Printing of
speeches.

We are a most voluminous Section in the

* There appear to have been two Carmelite establishments on the left bank—one on the right of the Rue de Grenelle, in the Rue Vaugirard, the other on the right of the Faubourg St. Jacques, communicating with the Faubourg by the Passage des Carmelites. The one here referred to is the latter. (Franklin, "Les Anciens Plans de Paris," p. 152.)

matter of speeches, and the printing of them Feb. 8th.
 —at the public expense, of course. If I miss
 a meeting I am sure to receive from Lion's,*
 the next morning, a new broad-sheet with a
 speech of *Professor Carentan*, who now calls
 himself *Draco*, and leads us all by the length
 of his lungs.

I notice no change more than that made by
 the suppression of the Monkeries et cætera. Change in
 aspect of
 streets owing
 to abolition
 of Religion.
 The difference which this has made to the
 appearance, and above all to the street noises
 of Paris is quite wonderful. Before the
 Revolution this street † was quite as much of
 a *pfarrer gasse* ‡ as the river Main valley, and

* The name Lion appears as that of the printer of various
 addresses of the Section Panthéon during this year.

† Rue Saint Jacques.

‡ The Pfarrer or Pfaffen Gasse (Parson's Alley) was the
 name given to the valley of the river Main, from Bamberg to
 Frankfort, on account of the great number of ecclesiastical
 fiefs there.

Feb. 8th. it was bells, bells, from morn till night. I used often to visit old Toussaint the naturalist here—he loved not the Processions, and would spit, with a “*corbeaux*,” when he saw them coming. Besides all the College and University buildings, there were between the Observatory and the Bridge, three parish churches, two other churches, and nine Convents or Monasteries ; * they had a perfect little St. Dennis of Royal Relicks in the various churches, especially in the Jacobins’, † and St. Magloire, now all scattered to the winds. Then the gorgeous buildings of the University, now all

Destruction
of churches,
etc.

* Among the latter was that of the English Benedictines, where James II. of England was buried. The three parish churches were St. Étienne des Grés, St. Benoît, and St. Jacques.

† Jacobins’ Church—in the Rue St. Jacques—not to be confused with their convent off St. Honoré, where the Great Club sat.

confiscated. Between St. Severina's Fountain and the little passage down to *Hell Street** there is not a single crucifix, where before I am sure there were twenty. All the royal statues on the bridges have followed them—even my favourite infant Louis.† But it's the same story from St. Mandy to Chaillot.‡

Feb. 9th.

9th.—Some unhappy Nuns were condemned to death to-day for no cause except their Profession. But the Carmelites have been an object of suspicion to the managers ever since the massacre of '92. One of these was quite a decrepit old woman, incapable of any conspiracy such as these wretches allege to have been hatched by them. Meanwhile the

Nuns
executed.

Recruiting
for the Army.

* Rue de l'Enfer.

† Possibly this refers to a figure of Louis XIV. with his father and mother in a group, which stood on the Pont du Change, close to the Châtelet.

‡ As we might say "from Camberwell to Kensington."

Feb. 9th. recruiting the army goes on steadily, and is perhaps the most satisfactory sign of the hour ; even a *cy-devant* * may be safe in the ranks. Men and boys of all heights and ages are admitted, and whether it is from eagerness to escape from the blood-stained Capital, which reeks with spies and delation, or no, there is a real enthusiasm for all things Military ; whereas the service in *the Blues* is continually done by deputy, in spite of all laws to the contrary. There is, for instance, great difficulty in supplying *the Blues* with arms—most have only the pike ; but they are such rascallions and so perpetually drunk, that it is as well they have few muskets, though these are supposed to be turned out of the factories on the river boats at a surprising rate. The *Invalids' Terrace*, too, and

Cannon
foundries
created.

* That is to say, "a noble."

the Luxemburg Garden have been converted Feb. 15th.
into vast cannon foundries. There are fifty-four forges at the Luxemburg alone for cannons, working night and day, besides the smaller ones for bayonets and pikes. The noise and filth they generate is very great: all the refuse from the works is flung pell-mell into the Seine.

15th.—I have just heard a rumour that Talleyrand expelled from England.
the Bishop of Autun* has been expelled from England. I cannot but felicitate the Ministry on so bold a step. I have no direct proof (and, in F——'s absence, can have none), but the very strongest suspicion, that he had entered secret relations with this Government, which would not be slow to pay

* This shows how slowly news from England reached Paris. Talleyrand was expelled from England (under the Alien Act), January 30th, and went to America.

44 THE DIARY OF RAOUL HESDIN.

Feb. 15th. his services—not with any hope of creating a Rebellion in England, they are too shrewd for that, but to ascertain the disposition of our Government towards the Emigration, and the probable movements of the Alliance. Of all men of the Revolution he is the most false, the most utterly without party or principle, save of his own advantage. But I do not expect him to compromise his future with coming hither. He will more probably stir up strife in the camp of the Emigration itself. Valcour* put a most astounding thing in his news sheet to-day—a manifest falsehood, yet one for which I see no *French* reason,—to wit, that the French

Hesdin's judgment of Talleyrand.

A strange story from Plymouth.

* Philippe Aristide Valcour, comedian, founder of the Theatre “Délassement Comiques” and one of the editors of the *Journal de la Montagne*, which lived from June 1, 1793, to 28 Brumaire l’an III.

prisoners at Plymouth had been allowed to Feb. 17th. celebrate the day of their late King's murder, and had *planted a tree of liberty in the prison yard*. Such indulgence is not what they're accustomed to relate of English prisons.

17th.—The Cardinal Archbishop of Sens Death of Loménie de Brienne. is reported dead in his prison, whether by his own hand or another's I know not. He had only been recently arrested; I know not why he was spared so long, unless that, being enormously wealthy, he *probably could afford it*.^{*} He was, perhaps, the worst minister of the old Monarchy, and did more to precipitate the Revolution than any one. But his persecution was probably aggravated by the affair of the Water Company. It's

^{*} This is a mistake. Loménie de Brienne had been for some time in prison in 1793, but was released, quite possibly owing to bribery, as Hesdin here hints: re-arrested in February, 1794, he died the same night.

Feb. 17th. alleged that he and several other officials, among whom was the poet Caron de Beaumarchais, had fraudulently machinated against the Perriers, who were the originals, and the largest shareholders.*

A visit to
some pottery
works.

To-day to St. Antoine, to see the pottery works of Mons. Ollivier *le jeune*, for whom we may have some commissions. A most flattering reception. He has made his peace with the Government for a while, and is beloved by the few workmen who stay with him. I consider him *the best living artist in France of any kind*; a man of infinite patience of Invention, he works when necessary in the habit of a common *ouvrier*, and

* The Perriers were the inventors of the hydrant system, with the two pumping-stations at Chaillot and the Gros Caillou; their affairs had been in litigation before the Châtelet as early as 1790. (See "Dictionnaire de la Rév.," article "Perrier.")

yet is by far the ablest head at the Lycée.* Feb. 17th.

He is presently engaged upon some designs for imitating the antient brown vases of the Etruscans, after the manner of Mr. Wedgwood, yet of sufficient original worth to appear rather as a rival than a copyer. There is, however, no clay in the Seine valley equal to *Staffordshire*, while the want of workmen and the unsettled state of the Republick prevent development of the art on any large scale; the Sèvres manufacture is, for the same reason, at a standstill.

When one is told by these ideots† that a Republick is of all governments the most favourable to art, and has Greece and Rome thrown daily at one's head, one cannot forget that in the latter Republicks all

The Revolution has done away with all honest work.

* Des Arts, situated in the Palais Royal garden.

† *Sic.*

Feb. 17th. material labour was done by slaves. Now, *a slave must work*; while one of the worst features, œconomically speaking, of this Revolution has been the growing dislike of the lowest class to work. 'Tis a feature that is likely to remain, and be a standing curse to this once frugal and industrious race.

Five years of frothy declamation have convinced them that they have a right to eat the bread of others, and they therefore hang about the Quays, and the street corners, and the Arcades of the Palace, ready for any excitement and mischief. If the majority of the middle class should ever come to their senses and their courage again, these messieurs will find they have lost their steady habit of industry, and have no longer the State's charity, *or plunder, which is the same thing*, to depend upon. At present,

"Corner
men."

however, these gentry, when they do earn Feb. 20th. anything, are paid by their Sections for defacing Royal or Aristocratical or Religious monuments.

Feb. 20th.—The incredible slowness of the Austrian Court and the vacillation of the Prussian seem to take away all hope of a real victory. Whatever Government be in power, the French people will fight for Independence. It is the only thing upon which all are agreed. But any serious reverse of French arms would be followed by the establishment of a military Despotism in the hands of some one General, who would then either declare for the old Monarchy or make himself King with full powers to save the State. One hears continually of the “factions de l’Étranger ;” no accused person is brought to trial without

Yet France will fight for independence.
Accusations of high treason are frequent.

Feb. 20th. being "in the pay of Pitt and Cobourg."

Both are, of course, equally false, as I have the best reason to know. And the Emigration has no money to distribute. The French Government, however, has money to distribute in the smaller foreign courts. I have recently been assured by F—, that one of the Piedmontese Secretaries is in

Mild winter. their pay.* The winter has been the mildest I remember, with the exception of a few slight frosts at Christmastide. It is an infinite blessing, for this people would die by hundreds if, as may even yet happen, a month of hard frost should come. There

* Probably incorrect. During the time Deforgues was at the Foreign Office (June 21, 1793, to April 2, 1794) the Secret Service money was almost entirely spent upon Revolutionary work at home. (Masson, "*Le Département des Affaires Étrangères pendant la Révolution*," p. 300, n. 1.)

has been no suspension of mason's work Feb. 27th.
from this cause since my return.

Feb. 27th.—I have just learned from V——* Englishmen and ladies at St. Omer—their hard condition.
that, more than a month ago, he had information from St. Omer's that our imprisoned countrymen and women there † are being treated with the utmost rigour. His correspondent implored moneys in the first place, as many are almost destitute of the common necessaries of life; the ladies are confined pell-mell with the men, and even the sheets which they endeavour to erect for the sake of privateness are torn down. They have

* I thought, at one time, that V——, to whom several references are made, was possibly Samuel Vaughan, of whom occasional mention is made in contemporary documents, but am now rather of opinion that he was more probably an American subject in the service of Gouverneur Morris, the accredited agent of the U.S.A.

† It is unknown to whom reference is here made.

Feb. 27th. been compelled to dance at the *Republican festivals*, even at that for the celebration of the *Recapture of Toulon*. Such conduct towards persons who are not only not prisoners of war, but merely private individuals who foolishly remained in France, on the faith of a public decree of the National Convention, is only paralleled in *Turkish annals*. Yet it seemed that these poor persons had two greater evils to dread, one, that His Highness might * advance from Dunkirk, in which event their instant massacre was probable: the other, that they might be transferred to Arras, where there is a bloody Tribunal sitting under a savage expriest called Le Bon. There was a great

Fears of
massacre
there.

Scandalous
violation of
International Law.

* The Duke of York had long ago raised the siege of Dunkirk (Sept. 1793), but was not yet in retreat towards the Dutch frontier: the allies still occupied a great part of the Netherlands.

seminary and school of English priests of the March 1st. Catholick faith at St. Omer's, long established there ; this is, of course, now broken up, and the poor boys, for the sole fault of being of that Religion and that Nationality, are imprisoned, and like to be starved. I cannot but think that acts like these will visit themselves on the head of this bloody Government. It's after all no great concern of the Powers what a Nation may choose to do in its internal polity ; but Europe is interested in all keeping to the *laws of civil warfare*.

Mar. 1st.—Last night to a concerto at the Lycée des Arts, to hear Madame Bellicarde A concert at the Lycée. play upon the harp : it was a pretty performance, but a very small number to listen.

The precautions to prevent food being Violation of Maximum. smuggled out of the City are very considerable, yet one sees not why any should be

March 1st. tempted to do so * when the price is so much higher within the barriers than outside : (for *the Maximum* no serious man of business cares a *figo*, until he is denounced for violating it ; and as he will be pretty surely denounced whether he violate it or no, he finds it better to have in his pocket where-withal to bribe his denunciator). There's a vast amount of printer's ink wasted in posting on the walls all round the market how Citizen this or Citizeness that has been fined half his or her substance for violating some trumpery fraction of this unjust Law : and how he has been compelled to bear the cost of printing a hundred or a hundred and fifty copies of the placard retailing his iniquities. *Vla*

* (*Sic*) The haste with which these pages were written is constantly marked by elliptical sentences of this kind, as well as by the handwriting.

comment on fait peur. For my part, I do March 1st.
 not believe in the stories of *accaparement* of
 which one hears so much. Certainly, if they
 were true, and provisions were smuggled out
 of Paris, there is nothing in the *river-chains*
 and the feeble light of the *Réverbères*,* along
 the *quais* to prevent it. As for any order
 being kept by the Blues at the ports and
 barriers, it's absurd. I saw a most enter- An amusing
 scene on the
 river.
 taining scene not long ago, on the Tournelle,
 which proved their insufficiency: a boat
 coming down laden with wine was pillaged,
 and sunk in the shallow water; the guards,
 themselves taking part and rushing into the
 water up to their knees, broke open the head
 of the barreeks† with their pikes. Similar
 events are of daily occurrence at all the

* Lamp-posts.

† "Barriques" or "barriques."

March 1st.

Amusing
scene at a
city gate.

barriers. Take the following, which M. Armand saw a few days since : at the *Barrière de l'Enfer*, a peasant's cart, laden with butter, eggs, and vegetables, arrived from the Bourg la Reine road, at six in the morning. The Blues on guard were asleep or drunk, but a crowd of women inside undid the *grilles* with the keys which they stole from the sleeping men. The instant the cart was inside, it was invaded by the very women who had opened to it ; the villager, a stalwart man, was flung in the mud, and the whole contents plundered, the women fighting like starving tigresses for the fragments. One of the foremost of these slipped from the cart, and the wheel passed over her wrist and shattered it, but none of the rest heard her cries. It cannot be expected that the most ferocious penalties will long induce men to

bring provisions to a City which receives March 3rd.
them in this manner. Now that the Colonial Paris is a commercial
wares have ceased to find their way to Paris cul-de-sac.
or France except through the channel of the
enemy, or by the extremely costly and
round-about trade with the Hanseatick
towns, Paris has nothing to send to her
tributaries in return for bare subsistence :
and the Agrarian Law, little as it is observed,
has killed every spirit of enterprise.

3rd.—They are making bread now of Starvation.
dried pease, and perhaps the last jest we
shall hear on French lips will be this “carême
republicain.” Wolves and foxes have multi-
plied extraordinarily in the wilder provinces Wild beasts multiplying.
since the abolition of the game laws, contrary
to all expectation, and great complaints are
made of their ravages among the flocks. But
this is a natural result of the land that is

March 3rd. gone out of culture owing to all Capital being eat up, or exported, or hoarded. I am told it is no uncommon thing to meet flocks of sheep or pigs that have run wild for want of an owner, and had the luck to avoid the Requisition men. Wages do not keep pace with the advancing dearness of provisions, *maximum or no maximum*; they are now for skilled masons and carpenters about six livres a day, but this will purchase less than two livres at the commencement of the Revolu-

More strikes. tion. Continual demands for rise under threat of not returning to work. The *forty sous*, which those who make a declaration of indigence obtain for attending the Section meetings, are almost invariably spent in drink during the meeting itself. The baking of paste wares and the wearing of hair-powder have been forbidden : and the abandonment

of the latter elegant fashion, which began in March 4th. the late King's reign, is now almost complete.

(I notice also, by the way, the complete abandonment of the use of *muffs*: even in 1790 the very beggars in the street affected the muff.) The lack of provender for the beasts No fodder. and horses is one of the most serious questions.

A weekly allowance is supposed to be allotted to horse-keepers, in the Rue de Seine, but there is never enough to go round, and the very Government Courriers have to put their horses on short commons. The sole object of vendors, in such times, is to be able to live; and herein is seen another evil result of the abolition of Game and Fishery Laws, for every one kills all that he can for the present, and destroys far more than he has a chance of selling.

Mar. 4th.—The enormous number who Emigrés
return in
disguise.

March 4th. left France in '89 and '90, expected to return victorious in a few months to their lands and their personal property, and for that reason a great many men concealed such valuables as they were not able to carry with them. Now their furniture is sold, their lands are being rapidly sold and divided up (though as yet largely uncultivated), their *Paris Hotels* are turned into prisons or foundries, and their valets enjoy their discomfiture. I believe it is not uncommon for such men to return in disguise, either to give a last regard on the relicks of their former splendour, or to fetch away concealed jewels and papers. The employ of coach-drivers, colporteurs, and pedlars of every kind lends facilities for such disguises. The risk they run from their former *valetaille* is enormous; every Police Agent is constantly on the hunt

for disguised aristocrats, and the Police are March 5th.
largely recruited from the domestick class.

The Municipality recently ordered Com-
missions to go round to inquire into the
possibility of converting the gardens and
public Parks within the walls into vegetable
gardens for the growing of pease and beans,
and a strict order has been issued against the
cultivating of gardens "for luxury," *i.e.*, one
presumes, for floral culture. Famine, it is
thought, may thus be kept at bay. There is,
undoubtedly, sufficient empty space within
the Barriers to raise quantities sufficient to
provision the markets. But the more
immediate result would be the ruin of the
neighbouring Communes, which subsist
wholly by the sale of these articles.

5th.—Oh equality! oh liberty! A poor A "patri-
otic" riot.
tavern-keeper had the audacity to make a

Gardens to
be requi-
sitioned to
grow vege-
tables in.

March 5th. complaint at Section to this effect : he had a rude head, which had once represented King Louis, painted up on a panel. Some drunken *patriots*, with that wretch Mahé at their head, broke open his house by night, tore out the panel, and destroyed all the furniture of his little cabaret ; and, because the man complained, he was denounced and sent to prison.

Marat's
paper to be
continued.

The Cordeliers have just decided to continue the issue of Marat's journal,* which had for its object the investigation of the character of Government officers. The brute left a wife † and a sister, who are said to be

* The celebrated newspaper professing to be written by "L'Ami du Peuple" (Marat), came to an end at his death in 1793. On the question of its continuation, see Bougeart, "Vie de Marat," p. 315, who is inclined to think that the Cordeliers did not do more than issue a prospectus.

† An error. Simonne Évrard, who represented herself as "Veuve Marat," was only his mistress.

quarrelling over the job, or its profits; but March 7th. the Cordelier Committee will not let much of the latter slip their own fingers.

7th.—How utterly a failure is that which The "Fall of Toulon" at the theatre. they call here a *pièce de circonstance*, yet scarce anything else is now played. It was enacted last autumn that the leading theatres should give three times a week tragedies of a *republican character*, and the recent fall of Toulon has been made the subject of a drama, to which I went last night. It would have been hissed off the stage at the most trumpery fair in England. I fancy many of the little cowardly shopkeeper fellows spend their evenings at the Theatre rather to escape the reproaches of their wives, whom they must leave in the dark, for, God knows, they can afford neither fire nor candle. Robespierre seldom attends the stage plays, but my Lord Barère at the theatre.

March 7th. Peacock * is always in full view in the *cy-devant royal box* when a new piece is on, generally with a bevy of harlots. (Talking of harlots, what is Mdlle. du Thé † doing in England? I think she ought to be watched. She was formerly intimate with many of the Clichy gang.) Certain boxes are reserved for the members of the Committees of Government. Great complaint is made against this, as most of them are empty. The prices in the rest of the Theatre are low, and at many Theatres there is a space for those who pay nothing. I had rather

Prices at the
theatres.

* Probably *Barère*, who goes by various nicknames, such as "Vieusac" and "Paon," in contemporary writings. Cf. p. 29.

† There was a courtesan of this name celebrated in the Parisian demi-monde, but I find no record of her being at any time in England. Some information on these ladies in general may be gleaned from Boisgobey, "*Le Demi-Monde sous la Terreur*."

pay two livres, as in the old times for a place, March 7th.
 in the second lodges, to see a comedy by
 Beaumarchais, than listen for nothing to the
 inane harangues of *Citizen Regulus*. Molière, Disgrace of
the stage.
 Voltaire, Racine, and all the old dramatists
 are *suspected of aristocracy*. Even when
 Greek and Roman subjects are represented,
 the heathen Gods are made to speak the
 language of the *Heroes of the Bastille*: and
 Brutus is forbidden to call Cæsar *Monsieur*;
 and the goddesses descend from the wings in
tricolour scarves and drawers. I remember old
 Boucher telling me that, before the Austrian
 war, it was customary for the Heroes of
 Antiquity to strut the stage in the garments
 of the period: and I think it was first under
 M. Favart, that an attempt to represent
 the real Greek and Roman dresses was
 made. Anyhow, for twenty years before the

March 7th. Revolution it was universal in France, as it certainly is not in England, to adhere to purity of tradition in such matters.

Immorality
and prosti-
tution.

The morality of those engaged on the stage is, I fear, no higher under the reign of "*Virtue and Terror*" than it was formerly. But how can it be otherwise when the fundamentals of Religion and Morals are sapped by their damnable doctrines? The increase in prostitution, especially among the very young, has been noted ever since the commencement of the Revolution. It is not uncommon to see children of eleven and twelve years delivering themselves over to this vice. The gardens of the Palace,* which were bad enough under the old Monarchy, are now a disgrace to civilization. The

* Palais Royal; though the writer sometimes used the word for the Tuileries, sometimes for the Palais Royal.

rudeness of men to women naturally keeps March 7th.
pace. Formerly the withdrawing rooms,
even of the easy women, kept up a pretence
of decency and courtesy. Now the Govern-
ment, while absolutely indifferent to the
lowest class of prostitutes, holds as suspect
all those who attempt to keep any style.
Indeed, it's impossible that such women
should not hate the present state of things.
Even virtuous women complain of the coarse
language and the rude puffing of tobacco Use of
tobacco is
disgusting.
smoke in their faces, with which they are
daily regaled on the Terrace. The dancing
saloons (at which the *true patriot* dances in
boots and mustachios perfumed with tobacco
and *with his hat on*) in spite of the Govern-
mental prohibition, shift themselves from
place to place, and the proprietors escape
with a fine, and probably a heavy bribe.

March 7th. Thus the reign of *Liberty and Virtue* punishes only those who are rich and vicious, not those who are poor and vicious. Coarseness and ignorance are become emblems of *democratic virtue*. So one hears much of debates and plans for Public Instruction to the young, while all around ignorance and contempt for learning and refinement reigns. All the monuments of their past History seem to have become objects of derision to the French; and it must be ever so where the mob rules. Yet the contrast to the intellectual activity of ten years ago is prodigious. At the National auctions, the most priceless pictures and books sell for a mere trifle: lucky, too, will be he who can buy back such undamaged. Moreau's great edition of the playwright Molière, enriched with the beautiful woodcuts of a past age,

Ignorance
and con-
tempt for
refinement.

Books
despised.

was sold not long since for forty livres. Oh, ^{March 7th.} shade of Maître Caillard! * Oh, manes of Gravelot! † Not but what there are ateliers ^{Art at a standstill.} still open. Daubenton, of whom my dear patron Sir Robert ‡ talked so much, is still working, and Willer is still alive; but the efflorescence of the Art, which was such a marked feature of the years between the Colonial troubles and the outbreak of the Revolution, is entirely over. As the old Academies troubled the Engraver little, so

* A famous wood engraver of the early part of the century. Hesdin can hardly have studied under him, but may have been taught by one of his pupils.

† Gravelot was a contemporary of Caillard, and died in England in 1772.

‡ Probably Sir Robert Strange, the well-known Jacobite engraver, who was knighted by George III. He visited Paris on the eve of the American war, and obtained an English pardon for his brother-in-law, Andrew Lumsden, who had been the Pretender's secretary.

March 7th. does their new substitute, which they call a

The Jury des *Fury of the Arts*, exercise little control over
Arts.

us. By no means all of these jurymen are artists, and I'm far from saying that this is entirely a bad thing; but some of them, nay a majority, are quite uneducated creatures from the lower classes, *if not the lowest*. To them the Convention has addressed the task* of choosing fitting monuments to decorate the Capital: to them the management of the art students at the École.† David is, of course, at the bottom of all this—young Gérard and Le Sueur are of it: indeed, painters predominate—what the devil they know about sculptured monuments I have yet to learn; they have ever despised the *Sister Arts*, and arrogate to themselves to do so, because their own art is the more popular.

An engraver's
opinion on
painters.

* Sic.

† Des Beaux Arts.

I have real cause for complaint, when I look March 10th.
at the hideous statues they are every day
putting up, the beauties they are every day
destroying. The destruction of Louis XIV.
with Desjardin's beautiful groups can't,* it's
true, be wholly attributed to this Government
or this Jury.

Mar. 10th.—News! news! Hébert and The
Hébertists
arrested.
all his associates, it's uncertain how many,
have been arrested, and the one excitement
of the hour—since my return to Paris I have
known nothing like it—is whether they will
be condemned. If they are, we may look for
a bloody insurrection of the suburban *Canaille*
to save them. With what joy must they in
the prisons greet the arrival of such a batch
of rascals, who have so often preached the

* A celebrated statue, in commemoration of the victories
of the "Grand Monarque."

March 10th. "clearing of the prisons," "the new September," and the like terrible words! The Government is undoubtedly in earnest, and, should it triumph, may rivet on the neck of France a Dictatorship or a Triumvirate. So completely has Hébert's party dominated all the minor offices of state, that, if they have any cohesion, it seems impossible that their rising should fail. The man has been deified by the lowest scum of democracy. His death might be the beginning of a *return to common sense*. The wildest rumours are afloat, and it is even said that all the windows of the St. Honoré are already let, a week in advance, to those desirous of seeing him pass to the scaffold. If so, the gazers will pay with their lives for the sight. Yet I cannot tell, for the fickleness of a democracy is only equalled by its

Wild
rumours and
probability
of an
insurrection
to save
Hébert.

cowardice, and the idol may be broken by the March 16th.
idolaters.

16th.—This is the sort of occupation of the Absurd
travesty in
the Conven-
tion.
Legislature of the *freest people on earth*, an
Assembly (which is for ever railing at our
Parliament as a horde of slaves and courtiers
who spend all their time in fulsome eulogies
of their Monarch); a few days ago V——
happened to be in the North Gallery, when
an old man was brought in, who had served
in the Austrian wars, and gave a grand
account of the *martial exploits* of his son,
now serving in I forget which Army on the
frontiers. The old man, with the spittle
running down his chin, told stories of the
gigantic stature of the various *Coalised
Tyrants* who had been impaled on the sabre
of his gallant offspring; *enfin*, on encountering
the cranium of some obtuser tyrant, the sabre

March 17th. had broken in half: may it please the National Convention to *give him a new sword!* "Receive, grand relick of an age when no rewards were given," replied the President of the Convention, "*the grasp of fraternity; thy demand is granted!*" They have always half a score of old fools in readiness to be made a raree-show of like this.

Week of
excitement
over Hébert.

17th.—A week of intense agitation owing to Hébert's trial; the excitement of men's minds may be guessed by the fact that, when a number of houses in St. Antoine were found a day or two ago marked with a *red cross*, the inhabitants fled from them, and sought shelter at the Town Hall. It was probably a mere prank to cause terror. It seems that a great number of names, well-known in the Revolution, will be involved in this business to their hurt. Pache and

Santerre will be at pains to clear themselves. March 17th.

Were *I* to turn denunciator there is more than one of my fellow-employés I could send to the scaffold. As for the accusations of "intrigue with England," we know what that is worth; but that the accused have speculated in Government paper is undoubted.

M. Bouchotte has made a large fortune by ^{Iniquity of Hébert's party.} it. The enormous increase of the forgery of the Assignats has, of course, been traced to Hébert; and one of the very men who now sits on the Tribunal jury has himself been in prison for the crime, and only managed to escape by betraying his associates. The German Koff* is supposed to have been the

* Hesdin probably means the Dutch banker, Jean Conrad Kock, who was a member of the Dutch Revolutionary Committee, and was executed with Hébert. Paul de Kock, the celebrated novelist, passed as his son. (See Morse Stephens, "Orators of the French Revolution," vol. ii. p. 513, n. 2.)

March 21st. centre of Hébert's foreign intrigues ; he held banquets for his friends at Passy ; but the Cordeliers Club is the real centre from which danger is to be apprehended, and there all is evidently preparing for a fresh revolution.

Danger past
and Hébert
condemned.

21st.—It is over, and the worst fears of Insurrection over with it. There were nineteen other persons, one being a woman, brought to trial at the same time. A more damnable set of rogues never disgraced a civilized Capital. A few threatening letters to the jury—no sort of expression of sympathy from the mob for their Idol. And it is this which fills me with more loathing and terror of this cowardly mob than anything else. If they will not strike for Hébert, for whom or what will they strike? *Only for and never against him who displays courage and firmness.* A few rounds of cannon shot

in 1789, and the world would have been March 21st.
spared the horrors of the last five years.

Oh, Posterity, de te narratur fabula !

If the popular voice speaks truth it is an old *Jacobite* turned *Jacobin*, the infamous municipal * Arthur, who has contributed most to turn the day against Hébert at the Town Hall; but it means the breaking of the power of these men themselves. There has been a duel between the Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville, and *faute d'une insurrection* the former has won. Whether Mademoiselle Lacombe † has anything to do with Hébert, I don't know. It may be she only finds *her trade slackening here*; any way she is to appear on the stage in the Northern

A duel
between the
Government
and the
Town
Council.

* Arthur was a paper-manufacturer of Irish extraction, guillotined 12th Thermidor.

† A famous courtesan.

March 25th. Provinces. She is one of the worst leaders of the female Jacobins, and perpetually haunts the Club Galleries. It's said that the Municipals intend to render the granting of passports to players much more difficult, with the vain hope of getting some few of talent to accept of employment in the Capital.

Execution of
Hébert and
his friends.

25th.—I went yesterday to see Hébert killed. The executor* was very brutal, and struck him repeatedly, but I fancy the beast was either drugged, or paralysed with fear, or perhaps dead already. The savage joy of the enormous crowd (who so lately carried him on their shoulders) was as fearful a sight as one could imagine; the question is, is this a victory for Order or not? I cannot yet tell. Hébert's party, while unquestionably the worst and unquestionably

* *Sic.*

the least solid, is yet the largest of contemporary factions, and the death of its Leader has added a new motive—revenge. Its weakness consists in having no definite aim. To destroy the Convention and “make a new second of June,” as the phrase goes here; well,—but afterwards? Plunder and places for themselves. But their continual cry, that the Convention is a pack of rascals or cowards, is too true to fail to penetrate the popular ear some day.

28th.—I suppose they are betting in the clubs in London upon the date when the Bankruptcy will be declared; but I think this Nation will suffer all things first. The Emigration is continually accused by the public voice of emitting a fictitious Paper as well as forging that of the Convention; but though the latter accusation may be true, I

March 28th.

Will there
be a
bankruptcy?

Forged
assignats.

March 28th. see no possible use for the former, since the Royalist disasters in the West. It is, however, possible and probable that a great number of forged Assignats are in circulation, besides tradesmen's tokens for purposes of barter. The great number of Provincial mints which existed before 1789, and their staff of officers now reduced to poverty (for though all old officials of the Royal Government are supposed indemnified, those who did not capitalise their pensions have mostly experienced the *Punick faith* of Republican masters), would account for the ease with which such forgeries were made. Besides, a great number of royal bank-notes of Louis XVII. were issued from Châtillon,* till the presses were broken up on the entry of the Republic's troops in

* Châtillon-sur-Sèvre, the place where the Vendéan treasure-chest was kept.

the autumn; and many of them are treasured, though probably not circulated; by such as still look for a Restoration. But were the quantity of forged paper far greater *it would not accelerate the Bankruptcy.* March 31st.

31st.—I have now, since the return of my Nantese friend,* become much more interested in Political matters. He is undoubtedly deep in the confidence of the leaders, and, as he is utterly without scruple and a man of keen intelligence (he was educated like Billaud, Chabot, Siéys,† and many of the more successful Revolutionists, Fouché and his influence.

* I have given some reasons in the preface for the supposition that the “Nantais” several times referred to is probably Fouché, afterwards the celebrated Police Minister. It was just at this time that he returned from his mission to Lyons, and recent evidence all goes to prove how much he was implicated in the intrigues which overthrew Robespierre.

† *Sic.*

March 31st. for a priest), I have made it my principal aim to devote him to the service. I never see his face without being reminded of a cat; but I cannot believe that he is as devoted to Robespierre as he professes (even to me) to be. The natures of the two men are too similar (though all the balance of ability is *on our side*), and should any attempt be made, which I do not however at present look for, to overturn the Government, I shall expect to see my friend in the forefront of the battle. His intimate friendship with Javogues * seems to be incompatible with any real belief in his mind in the stability of the present state of things.

State of
parties.

* Javogues was a Convention man, who was associated with Collot d'Herbois and Fouché in the massacres of Lyons. He appears to have belonged to the extreme Terrorist party, but to have been a bitter enemy of Robespierre and Couthon. He was shot in 1796 for a share in the Grenelle plot.

In any coming struggle, however, Billaud will be the man to reckon with: a pale, cold, thin-visaged man, with a trembling, convulsive twitch of face when he speaks or listens. Collot and Barère will, I fancy, count for little. The former is a hot-headed debauchee, without faith, honour, or morality; lives, utterly abandoned to fornication, in Rue Favart.

April 1st.

There will be a struggle for the mastery.

April 1st.—After the prodigious excitement of the last two weeks, the arrest of Danton and all his party has fallen almost unnoticed. But, my God! to what a pitch are we come. And I am uneasy for many reasons, besides the suddenness of the blow, which has probably prevented L——* from

Fall of the Dantonists.

* L—— may be Lacroix, an intimate of Danton's: *vide infra*, April 11th, "the two thousand bank bills which went with my friend of the old Cordelier party." This seems to point to some relation between Hesdin and the Dantonist

April 1st.

Danton's
recent
indifference
to politics.

destroying his papers. I have been told that Danton spoke English fluently. I have never seen him except in the Convention and at the theatre: he has lived latterly almost entirely at Sèvres, and taken no part in Politics. His name, however, would still be one to conjure with if the successes of the Government against the Hébert party had not annihilated all hopes of resistance. He will die like the rest. The writer *des Moulins* is involved in the same plot. I had thought him an *affidé* of Robespierre.

If I had any hope of peace and order returning it would be only when the tail of the defeated parties should unite in vengeance for the death of their Leaders.

party, which makes me doubly regret the loss of the journal after the 20th of July. The Dantonists were undoubtedly the "old Cordelier party," so called after Camille Desmoulins' newspaper of that name.

Danton's party is far smaller, but in men of April 1st. force probably far stronger than that of Hébert. But I have not seen F—— * since the news, and can only guess that the thing † was planned in the Government Committee in the deepest secrecy. *King Maximilian* ‡ is not Robespierre and Barère. always master of himself sufficiently to hide his mislikings. F—— told me that at a dinner at Venua's, given by Barère, he was extremely rude to his host. Yet I cannot fancy *the Peacock* a serious candidate for the Dictatorship, which, since the event of this morning, all now consider inevitable. Nor is Robespierre exactly the *King of the mob* as Danton Sources of Robespierre's power. and Hébert were its Kings; he has rather risen to the top by pandering to the lowest

* This F—— is not Fouché. F—— is mentioned several times before Fouché's return to Paris.

† The arrest of Danton.

‡ *Sc.* Robespierre.

April 1st. of the *petite bourgeoisie*, and representing himself as perpetually in opposition to all existing Governments. Yet so absolutely has he himself governed (as the events of the last three months will prove) that all eloquence, all talent, all fortune, all intelligence, which will not entirely subserve himself, is to be destroyed and swept from his path. Suspicion of everything and everybody is his only active principle. His own colleagues in the Committee *must* hate and dread him; it is impossible they should not. The only friends he has are men like Viot* and Darthay,† and Antonelle;‡ and probably, if

His loneliness.

* *Viot* I cannot identify.

† *Darthay*, or *Darthé*, was from Calais. He was imprisoned after Thermidor, and afterwards was involved in Babœuf's plot, 1797, and executed.

‡ *Antonelle* can hardly be the Marquis d'Antonelle, who, though a Conventional and a member of the Jury of the First

one knew the truth, even among them 'sus- April 2nd.
picion reigns supreme. M. Duplay * has a His mis-
daughter who commonly passes for his † tress?
mistress. I don't, however, believe he has a
mistress. 'Tis said, his name was whispered
as a loose liver in '89, but now his room con-
tains nothing but *portraits of himself*, and that
he lets himself rather be adored by women
than enjoy them. The wits, however, call this
young lady *Cornelia*, and many grosser names.

April 2nd.—It is wonderful weather: all Beautiful
the trees in bloom six weeks before their weather.
time, as if the smile of Nature meant to mock
at the horrors of Mankind. I wonder if
Mr. Payne can see any trees from *his window* Tom Paine
in prison.

Revolutionary Tribunal, was imprisoned by the committee
late in 1793, and only came out after the Thermidor.

* The small tradesman with whom Robespierre lodged,
366, Rue St. Honoré.

† *Sc.* Robespierre's.

April 2nd. *at the Luxemburg Palace.* I have not laughed so heartily since I came to this city of death, as at the notion of his imprisonment. He is said to be moving heaven and earth to get himself recognised as an *American Citizen*, and thereon liberated. He was imprisoned on the fall of the first Republican party last June, and has now been in durance some months. The minister of the American States is too shrewd to allow such a fish to go over and swim in his waters, if he can prevent it; and avows to Robespierre that he knows nothing of any rights of Naturalisation claimable by Mr. P. 'Tis, to my thinking, a mean thing to go from country to country stirring up sedition, and then, as soon as he reaps the true reward of his deeds, to claim citizenship of some other [*]. And it is

T. Paine
tries to pass
for an
American.

* Country.

quite certain that the man is now a French Citizen, so far as a solemn vote of the National Convention can have made him one. True, it may be an objection that he cannot speak French (I have repeatedly heard V—— say that his speeches in the Assembly had to be interpreted) ; but no more can several of the other scoundrels who print sedition in English in the Rue Notre Dame des Champs to tickle the ear of Mr. Tone and Company.* Even in prison, they say, he is generally drunk. They won't let him out. This Government means to govern, not to be *Tom-Payned*. Another proof of this is, that since the 17th of March the acquittals of those official persons who are accused of plundering

April and.

* Probably Wolfe Tone. There was an English press in the street mentioned, which was largely used for maintaining relations with the United Irishmen.

April 3rd. the public purse are much less frequent. Before Hébert's arrest, for one of these vile creatures executed there were three acquitted.

New plan of
certificates
for citizen-
ship.

3rd.—Just returned from a brave debate in Section, on a new proposal with regard to granting the *civic cards*. The plan to be adopted is, that no person should be allowed to appear as a witness who had any direct or indirect connection with the Principal: an excellent rule; and further, that no *illiteratus* should be allowed to witness. As one would expect, there was great opposition to the latter; but we are tamer now than we were in February,* and both were carried, being understood to be *de par le Roi*. The prevailing *candle famine* leads to the early

Candle
famine.

* The section of the Panthéon probably contained many Hébertists, and the fall of their leader would account for their being "tamer."

closing of section meetings at present. It's April 3rd. lucky that summer is coming on, for both wax and tallow have disappeared.

I went a long round by the Quays on my way home. There were a few groups at the street corners engaged in discussing *l'affaire Danton*. To-night I felt sick and weary of life, and wished to God my head was *in the* "Streets smell of blood." *basket*. The very paving-stones smell of blood, and the river seems to run blood. Not a group of chatterers to-night, but there were two or three Government agents listening for the least sign of sympathy with an accused person. The number of houses to be let is most astonishing, especially in the old Recent shifting of the population. strangers' quarter; and the shuffling of the population since the commencement of the Revolution must have been very great. The better faubourgs, and such places as Sèvres

April 3rd. and Meudon, are nearly deserted.* The wonderful medley of classes that inhabited St. Marceau, where all the little out-of-the-way trades of Paris were thronged, remains

The quarters
of Paris
change their
characters.

much the same. On the contrary, the *Quai de l'Hôpital*, where not a decent person could be found in the old days, is full to overcrowding. The *Arsenal garden* is a wilderness. The filth in the streets is as great or greater than ever ; but the splendour that was always hard by the filth is gone. Even the great chestnut walk in the *Elysian Fields*, once the resort of all that was gay and gentle, is encumbered with ordures. The

Dirt and pig-
killing in the
streets.

old City Magistrates did little enough to keep Paris clean, but it did not allow pigs to be killed in the streets and their blood to

* He says elsewhere that the villages round were nests of thieves (*vide* June 29th).

swill into the kennels, nor heaps of dung to be accumulated for weeks at the corners. One of the filthiest quarters is the new district, which grew up in the late King's reign, almost opposite the Palace, after the Old Blind Hospital and Church * were removed. †

7th.—It is rumoured that the English Fleet is again in the neighbourhood of Corsica, and that an attack upon the principal fortress of the island, Bastia, is hourly expected; if it is pushed with vigour it must succeed. The inhabitants may not be favourable to

April 7th.

Is England
going to take
Corsica?

* The Church and Hospital of the Quinze Vingts, transferred to the "east end" by Cardinal Rohan, 1779. It was intended to make a grand new "quarter" in their place, but the design was never carried out, and innumerable little slums grew rapidly up instead. The reader should consult that interesting work, "*Paris à travers les Ages*," for this and similar references.

† It is to be noticed that no allusion is made to the execution of Danton, April 5th, in the Diary.

April 7th. an English occupation, but these brave and ignorant mountaineers are *fanaticks for their religion*, and would welcome any defenders of it. It would be a fine thing for England to seize the Island and make a commanding position in the Mediterranean Sea. It is to be feared, however, that such a proceeding would enhance the jealousy of our Spanish Allies, which was so lamentably displayed, if what the French newspapers say is true, at the rendition of Toulon. But attack Corsica or not, Lord Hood must be kept strong in the Mediterranean if Italy is not to be overrun by the French speedily.

Jealousy of
England and
Spain.

Chénier's
new drama,
Timoleon,
mutilated by
the Censors.

M. Chenier, who is the one passable dramatist left, has had a tragedy called *Timoleon* mutilated, and, after three representations, hissed off the boards by the agents of *the Faction*, because some reflections appear to

be cast on the Government by a passage April 7th. indicating that History has given instances of *Tyrants without Crowns*. So the Theatre is gagged. The Prints, too, are utterly stifled. The *Gazette* is nothing but an organ of The Press is gagged. Ministerial Edicts; under Clavelin, the new editor, it is hardly even ferocious enough to be amusing. The *Journal de Paris* survives somehow, but it is at the lowest level of dullness, and differs little from a bulletin of the Revolutionary Tribunal. My newspaper is the *Montagne*, which used to be edited by that rogue Lavaux.* It is now by Valcour and Rousseau; but I expect Lavaux is still at the making of it. It contains the opinions of the Club,† and is fairly entertaining. Its

* The *Journal de la Montagne*, edited by Charles Laveaux.

† Jacobin Club.

April 7th.

Foreign News is, however, the most stupendous mass of lies imaginable. There are also little ephemeral prints, which change their names from week to week. Even a Government organ, *The Public Safety*, fed for a long period with public money, was suspended the other day, because its *name* had become offensive to the *Majesty of our Rulers*. But, indeed, there is ten times more sedition printed at Ridgeway's* every week than would be allowed here in a year. The most complete establishment of the Tyranny of the present Government has just been received by Paris and France without a murmur, and almost unnoticed; the Convention has decreed to abolish the Executive Council of Ministers, *the oldest body*

Executive
council of
ministers
abolished.

* A London press, used by the Revolution societies in England.

in the Republic, created *near two years* April 11th.
ago. 'Tis true, their offices have been mere
 pension-sucks a year since, but the twelve
sub-committees which will replace them are
 avowed to be mere nominees of the Govern-
 ment, whereas the former really were named
 in the Convention.*

11th.—The cup of these bloody rascals runs Execution of
Lucile
Desmoulins,
 over! Madame Desmoulins will be avenged.
 A gentler, simpler creature never breathed.
 Every fresh female execution, I notice, if it
 is not that of a *cy-devant*, rouses more and
 more secret hate against Robespierre. The
 peculiar horror of cutting off the head of a
 young and beautiful widow, whose only crime
 was to seek to speak to her husband in

* This is a mistake. The twelve Commissions of the decree
 of 12th Germinal were to be named by the Convention on
 the presentation of the Committee of Public Safety.

April 11th.
of M^{me}.
Hébert, and
of Chan-
mette.

prison, can be due only to him. Hébert's widow, a prostituted nun, suffered with her, and *the great Lord Mayor Chomette*,* for whom, I think, few will be sorry. But why should Chomette be sacrificed, when Pache is spared? for he must have been possessed of much more ample means of bribery. *One is not Lord Mayor in a democracy for nothing.* But the term of Pache, indeed the term of every one, cannot be far off. My own obscure head feels very loose on my shoulders since the two thousand bank bills that went with my friend of the *old Cordeliers' party*.† It certainly will be a mean thing to be left alive! The *high and mighty princess Guillotine* has recently taken to speaking, as well as acting. I bought at Petit's, a few days back, an account of the late trial, together with an

A bloody
pamphlet in
praise of the
guillotine.

* Chaumette.

† *Vide supra*, April 1st.

address of *Mrs. Guillotine to her faithful* April 11th.
breechless ones ; it's easy to be witty at the
expense of the proscribed. It is the work
of a prison spy called Dulacque. Such
literature is indeed terrible to contemplate.
I see signs, however, that, if *the Terror* is to
be maintained, such literature is necessary.
For instance, nothing is more common than Women faint
at the sight
of the
guillotine.
for women to faint at the sight of the
Guillotine, especially those with child ; and
one hears horrible stories of children being
born with the mark of a *lunette* on their
necks.* People are beginning to desert the
quarter of the Place,† or to close their
shutters when the death cart comes by,
though not unfrequently the brutal mob has

* The semi-circular " Window " of the fatal instrument.

† Place de la Révolution, *ci-devant* Place Louis XV., now
Place de la Concorde, where the guillotine stood until May.

April 11th. broken the windows of those who dare to do so ; and though it has become necessary to station guards to prevent the street urchins from leaping on the scaffold and playing there.

Servants
denounce
their
masters.

The terror exercised by the *vile class of domesticks*, who incessantly extort money by threats of denunciation on their own masters at the least sign of pity for the victims, is one of the most degrading features of the Revolution ; such persons have, of course, the ordinary *appetite of the vulgar for the horrible*, yet many such persons I am compelled to greet as my daily associates. In order that every one may have a full opportunity of seeing the horrors, the route taken by the death cart on its way from the prison to *the Place* is frequently varied as well as the hour, though it's generally five of the evening. If

Routes of
the death-
cart.

the streets are blocked, the journey often April 16th. lasts an hour, and the crowd on the Quays is an unusually fierce one. I have seen a mother *suckling her infant in the death cart amid the howlings of the mob.* But the bravery of the sufferers, and especially of the women, is beyond all praise.

16th.—A pretty ceremony in St. Genevieve's to-day—the replantation of *Liberty's emblem*, Tree of liberty planted in Hesdin's section. a young poplar with its roots much lopped away. It was hung with garlands and ribbons like a maypole. There was little zeal; all who were present only felt that they were carrying out an Edict of the grim Tyrants at the Palace; yet they performed some graceful dances, and sang hymns to Liberty. There's a regular trade of these emblems. Tripet, the flowerist * in

* *Sic.*

April 18th. the Faubourg St. Germain, is the best-known purveyor. He was chosen to fix the January one in front of the Club Hall, and, as it is still alive, it has proved of great advertisement to his commerce.

Famine
progresses.

18th.—Were it not for the wonderful season, there would have been more deaths from Famine than there have been. The new Edict concerning meat is the theme of universal comment. The distribution is only to be made every five days, and in half pounds; but the utter powerlessness of the Municipals to carry out anything like this system of *rationnement* must soon become

Meat market
insufficiently
supplied.

evident. The six hundred fat beasts which they profess to slaughter per diem are not killed in a week: to say nothing of the sheep, calves, and pigs. The butchers are to be chosen in each Section by a vote of this

corrupt body,* that is by bribery—one in April 18th.
each Section alternately is to go to the meat-market and convey all the meat necessary for himself and the others in his section. He is supposed paid ten per centum on his outlay ; but his outlay is to be made, not at the market, where his usually sturdy form might enforce a good bargain, but at the Town hall, on the following day. As in the case of the bread, no delivery is to be made except in the presence of a Government spy, called a Commissary. Rations for Government Officers, Hospitals, etc., are to be purchased by another set of Officers, and distributed by them. The eating-house keepers are to be allowed to purchase only what remains over after the daily distributions. I say such a system *cannot work*. In the

* The Commune.

April 18th.

The Paris
butcher a
sturdy man.

first place, the only people of whom the Officers stand in serious fear are the Paris butchers—a race of men of great independence and much common interest; in the second place, *the meat is not to be obtained*; and in the third place, no proper account is made that some Sections are more populous than others. In the Sections which include and border on the principal Government buildings, the eating-houses are necessarily twenty times more numerous than elsewhere.

Restaurant
keepers get
supplied
somehow.

Nearly all Deputies dine at a *traiteur's* of some sort, and dine extreme well; even those who have their rations provided at home, dine and will dine abroad also: and by every species of fraud and bribery, these *traiteurs* are sure, to be served first. Fish, both river and sea is, of course, inordinately dear; but it is still exempt from rationation,

and is mostly bought up by hawking women, April 18th.
who sell it from door to door: naturally it is
none too fresh. All Paris ate meat under
the old Government, and the quantity of
foreign meat imported then from neighbour
countries is proved by the difficulty of
obtaining it now. The cattle are mere scare- Lack of
fodder
crows, owing to the lack of fodder; and the
warfare between the Capital and the surround-
ing parishes, as to the supply, daily increases.
It is indeed hard to compel a butcher, ten
miles from the Pont Neuf, to drive his beasts
to Paris, there to be sold at a *ruinous loss*;
while all the time the *Tarifa which is begin-
ning to be really enforced here* is evaded in
the remoter faubourgs. The bread-shops are and of bread.
generally cleaned out and shut by nine or
ten of the clock; * only too frequently half

* In the morning.

April 29th. the expectants have to go away empty.
How the poorest class live, God knows.

Arms of the
Republic to
be affixed
over the
prisons.

A new emblazonment of Emblems of the Republic is under consideration, to be affixed over the doors of all State offices *and Prisons*. The latter are undoubtedly the most important *offices* of this *State*. The employ will be an useful one for my purpose.

France
intends to
seize Jersey.

29th.—Jambon * is said to be making preparations for a descent on Jersey from *St. Maloes*, which they now call *Port Malo*. If he can get out of the latter (which we *should look to that he don't*), it may cost my Lord Balcarras † some trouble to keep him out of the former. There's no lack of good pilots in the Breton ports who know the

* Jean Bon St. André, the Member of the Committee who looked after the naval business.

† Lord Balcarras was Governor of Jersey at the time.

way into Saint Hellyers with their eyes shut. April 29th.
Till we have as good, these damned little islands will always be more trouble to us than they're worth.

The Western Rebellion flickers on. I La Vendée flickers on.
thought it was all over with the Savenay affair * in December. The worst offscourings of Paris are poured on those unhappy Provinces with commissions as Captains and Colonels from the Republick. 'Tis common talk that Danton's friends first made themselves odious to Robespierre by denouncing this Vendéan business, and that Danton begged them to leave it alone. Yet even Robespierre, or his War Minister, has disgraced General Houchet for *ravishing a* A revolutionary general disgraced.

* Route of the Vendéan army, on its way back from Normandy, at Le Mans (December 12th), and Savenay (December 23rd), 1793.

April 29th. *Vendéan girl on a pile of corpses and then shooting her.*

More executions.

And still each day the *Holocaust* of victims here increases. Some of the leading *artists* in *Revolution* go every day to their deaths bound with ropes in the same cart with the noblest blood of France. Yet for the moment the storm seems to have passed by those for whom we naturally fear the most.* The female executions continue to excite sympathy, but indifference becomes more and more the tone towards those of the men.

The virgins of Verdun.

On the 25th suffered some half-dozen young girls, of whom three were sisters, and scarce one over twenty years ; and it was because they had been chosen, very probably against

* This again points to the Dantonist party, who kept quiet till the end of July, when they avenged their leaders on the 9th Thermidor.

their will, to welcome the King of Prussia on April 30th. his entry into one of the Eastern Fortresses in the year '92.*

30th.—There are no better news agents than the *Limonadiers*. I drink great quantities of noxious sirrops in the pursuit of *ce qu'on dit* from them ; the Profession of these gentry brings them into contact with all sorts of people, and they are generally indifferent to all but the latest tale of the hour. Few extreme factious among them, yet there are some who sit in the Commune-hall. On the contrary, the worst of the factious, at least in our Section, seem to come from the trade of the *stonemasons*. They are continually in combination to refuse work

The Limonadiers as news agents.

The stonemasons all Radicals.

* *Sc. Verdun*. These were the celebrated "Virgins of Verdun." See Campardon, "*Le Tribunal Revolutionnaire*," i. 308.

May 6th. unless their pay is encreased ; and there are indications that this habit may extend to other trades also. When once the temptation of plunder has been cast before the ignorant mob, it is easy to divine that they will not work. The wages of these men has steadily increased for the last few months, yet they continue to demand more.

Disappearance of gaiety.

May 6th.—I often wonder if people outside France are aware of the utter disappearance of gaiety which has accompanied this Revolution. The Fête of the *tenth day*, which has replaced Sunday, is ten times more gloomy than a Sabbath under Crumwell would have been, and without the *religious consolations* which that, undoubtedly, afforded to many minds. I walked to-day under the chestnuts for an hour. The trees here have so far been spared, though in the

Bois they have more than half been cut for May 6th.
fuel. The contrast to my youthful recollec-
tions of Paris moved me almost to tears.
Nothing but the eternal white dust of the
streets seems the same. I speak now, not Silence in
the streets.
merely of the days of the old Monarchy, but
even of '89 and '90. The ferment of minds Contrast to
1789.
in the *salons, clubs, and coffee-houses*, above
all in the streets, was indescribable. People
literally lived in the open air those two
summers, and in '89 at every moment were
seen horsemen dashing in with news from the
Court or the Assembly at Versailles ; orators
declaiming on every chair and balustrade on
the terrace. *Now* it is the silence of the
grave. I was passing down the *Rue des* Universal
terror.
Lanternes at nine of the clock yesterday
evening ; there was a small group talking
outside a grocer's booth at the corner of the

May 6th. *Marmousets*,* not more than five people, but a patrol approaching they all dispersed hurriedly, and not a figure was in sight for the whole street's length.

Sequestration of private property.

Rue de Bourbon—Rue de l'Université, once the gayest, are now alike silent: even the cryers on the Bridges, even the infernal bawling of the newsboys is diminished to an incredible extent. It is, of course, largely accounted for by the enormous shift of population. The houses of Emigrants are, naturally, sold together with their lands by the State or the Municipals; and the houses of those in prison are quite as liable to be sequestered or *requisitioned*, as their word goes, for Government purposes. In the Provinces this is really the rule. No sooner comes

* Rue des Marmousets in the Cité. There was another street of the name in the St. Marceau quarter.

Monsieur le Représentant en mission with May 6th.
his four horses and his train, than he goes The agents
of the
Government
in the
provinces.
straight to the Château and establishes
himself there, breaks down the panels and
hangings in search of concealed property,
chooses a few of the better-favoured village
girls for his travelling hareem, and drinks up
all the wine in the cellar. If the *suspect* is
afterwards liberated, he does not complain.
Lucky if he is not obliged to *sign away a
lease of his woods to some faggot-maker*, who
may happen to have ingratiated himself with
the Représentant. In Paris, however, we
have hardly reached that stage, though the
gardens of such properties as have not been
sold are to be *leased* to cultivators by the
Municipals. To whom M. Lespine made on
the subject t'other day a sensible speech
against jobbery! And it was voted to

May 10th. prohibit all under-leases—meanwhile they hesitate to compel us to cultivate our gardens for fear of the hostility of the neighbour villages.

Personation
of them
frequent.

Of these *Conventionals on Mission*, one hears all sorts of stories, and none more frequently than of their being personated by ingenious rogues for weeks together. There's nothing wonderful in this, most of the Conventionals being originally obscure men unknown outside their own parish, or at least Province.

The trial
of the
Princess
Elizabeth.

10th.—I seldom go to the Tribunal, but I could not remit going to-day to hear the Princess interrogated.* Strong language does not make a Cause, nor the repetition of such terms as *Sovereignty of the People* make the People fit to be Sovereigns. However much in theory an Englishman might

* Madame Elizabeth, sister of Louis XVI.

be a partisan of such terms and such ideas, May 10th.
had he once seen them put in practice, and
leading to their inevitable conclusion, he
would repent *in sackcloth and ashes*. The
crowd of women was unusually ferocious, yet
the absurdity and savagery of the Accuser
Public's * language was even worse. I cannot Fouquier
Tinville's
savagery to
her.
understand how the denunciations of the
late Queen as "*Messalina*," "*harlot*," and
"*assassin*" can produce effect, yet they
evidently gave great pleasure to the audience.
Her Highness was the very model of dignity,
grace, and virtue, and showed them all,
together with the most Christian fortitude,
to the last moment of her trial. It is too
well known that she was no friend to the
late unfortunate Queen, yet not a word that
could indicate anything but reverence for her

* Fouquier Tinville.

May 10th. memory escaped her. The main point of accusation, which she did not attempt to deny, was that she had treated her Nephew as King, and done her best to prepare him for his High Destinies. I am not here to make reflections on the destinies of Kings, but one might make many on such an end to such a beautiful life as the Princess's. The "Hall of Liberty," as they call the place where these mock trials are held, is adorned in *True Republican Fashion*, with a bust of Brutus flanked by Marat and some other nameless abominations, a table in the middle at which the Notaries sit, and another for Mons. Fouquier. The President and three other Judges are on a sort of raised platform, and in front of them the accused *stand* in a half-circle, each guarded by a Blue : to make them so stand would be an extreme and

The "Hall of Liberty," its internal arrangements.

needless piece of cruelty were the period May 20th. of the audiences sufficiently long to admit of a protracted defence. But as it is there are *too many to be condemned in a day* to admit of this. There are counsel allotted for the defence—a pitiful set of low attorneys, who Counsel for the defence a mere farce. would not dare to show their faces at an English Sessions; and even in them it needs some courage. If they show the least skill in argument or sympathy for their clients, the women and children hiss them; more than one of them has already expiated * on the scaffold. Nothing but the allotted *eighteen livres per diem* could tempt such wretches to the task. Several of my masters of the Committee do actually attend the Court, and when they are absent there are always plenty of their spies there. Indeed,

* ? expired.

May 10th. *Government by the Sovereign people* means
 Government by spies. nothing but *government by spies, and spies of spies*: and when you have stable boys for judges, perhaps they need spying. If a Judge or a juror show the slightest inclination to mercy, he is denounced at once. The tigers who sit on this *seat of judgement* are not, however, much to be envied. They live in constant dread of assassination at the hands of their victims' relatives: the President of the Tribunal lives surrounded by *spies and armed Blues*, with his doors barred like a siege gate. Indeed, none of the Leaders of the Revolution dares go about the streets unprotected. *King Maximilian* has a regular acknowledged *body-guard* of armed ruffians. 'Tis said the Accuser Public often receives letters beginning "Vive le Roi!" imploring to be sent to prison, and death, and

The
 terrorists
 themselves
 in terror.

Robe-
 spierre's
 body-guard.

Instances of
 recklessness
 of Royalists.

vilifying the Government and the Tribunal ^{May 10th.}
 in every possible way. Such instances of
 recklessness, strange as they might sound
 in London, do not appear strange to me
 here, where the life of private individuals
 has become the plaything of a few factious
 scoundrels: and where Famine has made
 life, to all but Government officers, a burden
 rather than a pleasure. I made an unpleasing
 discovery at the Tribunal. There must be <sup>Hesdin
 makes an
 "unpleasing
 discovery."</sup>
 many of my old fellow-students scattered up
 and down Paris, but I have as yet met none.
 To-day, however, I saw sitting as juror, or in
 immediate proximity to the jurors, one Prieur,*
 whom I remember at the atelier as a mere
 lad. Luckily for me he lives at the opposite

* This may be one of the illustrators of the famous
 "Tableaux de la Révolution Française" (three volumes,
 Paris, 1797).

May 12th. end of Paris, in the *Faubourg St. Denis*. He is a *protégé* of M. David's, and affects his school of Historical design ; but, from what I can learn, he is principally employed by the booksellers. The Prince of Condé's former librarian, Deingé, is now a clerk in the Treasury Office, but I have no great fear of his memory.

Réné Vatar
the printer.

12th.—Réné Vatar* was in waiting when I had occasion to go to the Committee yesterday, and with much angry gesture declaimed against the allowance of wax which we get for our dies, while he finds it impossible to procure sufficient candle for his men to work by. There was two hundred

* Master Printer to the Committee of Public Safety, in a position apparently parallel to that of Hesdin. He was afterwards mixed up in Terrorist movements against the Consulate, and sent to Cayenne ; died in America in 1842.

pounds of candle requisitioned a month ago, May 12th. but all has been used. Some of it, no doubt, having gone to grease the pockets of M. Vatar and his crew. I detest this Vatar.

I am truly delighted to learn that the English Ministers have at last decided to suspend the Habeas Corpus *—it ought to have been done long ago. This will make short work of the *Army of the British Convention ninety thousand strong*, of which they are so fond of talking here.

The local taxes which we levy every week upon the inhabitants of *Section Panthéon* are subjects of constant murmurs ; but these are stifled by terror, and do not reach the Convention—small use should they do so ; every

* The bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus was introduced in the Commons on May 16th, but the intention to suspend was no doubt known in France earlier.

May 12th. Section Committee regards itself as a small Municipality, and no words can describe the corruption and plundering of which these bodies are guilty. The *pleasure of spending the money of other people for one's own benefit* is probably one of the oldest passions of Humanity: it is certainly like to be the last pleasure of which effete Humanity will be satiated. I have seen it exemplified in the administering of poor's relief in *old England* and in the townships of *New England*. But here it is unchecked, for no public opinion dare make itself heard; and the plunder is a double one, first for *Sectional expenses*, of which no balance sheet is ever presented, and secondly, by their *High Mightinesses at the Town Hall*. Of all forms of jobbery and corruption, I have always regarded *Municipal Government* as the vilest; and that vilest of

and reflections on them,

and on Municipal government in general.

all, when the Managers are elected by the lowest popular vote, and are consequently the men with the most brazen faces and the most leathern lungs. These taxes are, however, a rock upon which this *Government by Sections* may very probably suffer shipwreck. The peculation is so enormous and so open. If a man is arrested and detained at the nearest Guard-room for the night, he is mercilessly *fleeced*; if he is placed under *surveillance* at his own home, he is made to pay eight or ten livres per diem for the Blues who guard him; if, by any rare accident, his liberty is restored to him, it will not be under a thousand livres. The old Government was fond of sending men to prison, but at least it did it at its own expense. The Revolution has invented a much more excellent way: the victim pays now. A poor widow, who

May 12th.

Peculation
universal.

May 12th. had been arrested and set at liberty a week ago, was made to promise to pay a monthly sum of fifty livres, "until the peace should be declared" (a favourite phrase of this people). A man who demanded a writing of account for his payment was threatened with re-imprisonment and driven with blows and insults from the room. It is needless to say that not a liard out of these extortions finds its way to the Town Hall. It is all spent by *Messieurs of the Section Committee* in silly and blasphemous shows in the churches, or in orgies of drunkenness and lust. The system of *Deputations from Section to Section* is also altogether vile, although the overthrow of Hébert and his friends gave it some slight check. Should there ever appear a chance of the *extreme Jacobins* being outvoted in any Section, they at once send to their

Orgies of
officials with
public
money.

neighbours for reinforcement, and a Deputation is sent, which sits and votes at the other Section, though without a shadow of right to do so.

16th.—There's no doubt of the thorough intention of the French Government to dominate the life of the French Citizen of the future. Proposed public free and compulsory education.

A series of decrees has ordered the establishment of a *Government School* in every division of every Section of the Capital, and it's to be extended to every Commune of France. The school-masters *and school-mistresses* (!) are to be paid officers of the Government; the books used for the scholars are to be open to Government inspection. Learned men have been invited to send to the Committee specimens of work suitable for such use; four times a year a report is to be made to a central *Bureau of Education* of the

May 16th. condition of the school; names, numbers, and accomplishments of the scholars; together with the *certificates of civism of the teachers*.

Is this
Liberty?

Perhaps we shall next hear that the Government proposes to send officers to examine into the knowledge and progress of the unfortunate *Citizens of the future*! I have always understood that Liberty, which they vaunt so much, to be the very opposite of such an *Inquisition* as this. This is but the *King of Prussia translated into Republican terms*! But, of course, it can't be put in force; no Government that ever existed could work such a system with a population of five and twenty millions. But more; the Committee which determined on this plan did also decide that *no further instruction was permissible* beyond what's to be given

Knowledge in these schools. Academies and Universities

were stamped as *Gothick*; all knowledge, be-
yond that to be extended to every kennel May 20th.
a mark of
"aristo-
cracy."
scraper, declared to be a *mark of Aristocracy*,
and equally dangerous to the *sweet Reign of
Republican equality* with the arbitrary power
of birth or riches. "The only schools neces-
sary beyond the *primary*," went on the
spokesman of the committee to an ad-
miring Convention, "are the Popular As-
semblies, the Theatres and the Jacobin
Club; for there one *learns the Republican
virtues*." "I thank thee, Jew," says Graciano,
"for teaching me that word;" 'tis there
I have learnt them for what they are
worth!

20th.—That an attempt at a certain re-
vival of the Religious spirit is abroad is
undoubted, and men are everywhere attri-
buting it to M. Robespierre. 'Tis said that Robespierre
to make a
new religion.

May 20th. his Colleagues in the Government despise him for it, but dare not remonstrate. He knows, however, where he stands, and that any serious design in the direction of a *New Monarchy* must have for its basis some sort of a Religion. Honestly, he was quite opposed to the blasphemous orgies of the *Feasts of Reason*, which have almost ceased to be held since the early part of the year. Agree with the Catholick Church he cannot. He is said, therefore, to seek to create some form of Worship of his own. But nothing will come of it. I regard the *abolition of Religion*, together with the *utter weakness of the Government*, which was characteristic of the first few months of the Republick, as the real cause which has pushed the people to such excesses. The incredible blasphemies of Hébert's broad-sheets could never have had

It is impossible to do so.

the vogue * were we not in a time when all May 20th. laws, human and divine, were equally held up to ridicule. However, even the *Temples of Reason* were crowded, especially by the women, to whom some sort of mystery seems more attractive and necessary than to men.

The newly appointed members of the Manufacture of muskets. Council for the *manufacture of small arms* have entered on their function ; it's supposed that, by putting the Musketry in a separate business from the Foundries, they'll secure more economy and less peculation. There are seven of these Managers with a salary of six thousand livres each, and they are to be assisted by a Council of their own workmen, the first demand of which council will, undoubtedly, be *higher wages*—the commoner

* *Sic.*

May 24th. sort only obtaining three livres a day at present.

The war on
the Italian
frontier,

and the
Spanish.

The last
stand of
Poland.

24th.—It looks now as if Italy was to be the theatre of the war. The French arms have already penetrated to Piedmont, and there will be little to stop them up to the gates of Turin. The Spaniards are in retreat in the Roussillon, and altogether the prospect is most gloomy. One of the worst features of such a situation as mine is the impossibility of getting any accurate news of European affairs. The Rising of the Polish people is in every one's mouth, but no one knows what is actually happening. One day we hear that Koshuskoe * has been defeated and killed, the next that he is crowned King of Poland at the Capital, and at the head of a hundred thousand men. That the Powers,

* Kosciusko.

if united, will be able to complete the conquest, I don't doubt; but the experience of recent events in the West does not point to such a conclusion,* and meanwhile Poland is likely to defend itself with the energy of despair. The Cracovians are said to have copied the French, and cast all their church bells into cannons. Another thing that puzzles me is the reported attitude of America to England. The Government here vaunts an *open alliance*.† It's true that their trade is at the mercy of our Fleet, and their Minister has not been withdrawn from Paris; but the whole religious and civil temper of those people can't possibly be blinded by the words *Republick* and *Citizen* into imagining this Republick to resemble their own. If there is any disposition of the Americans

May 24th.

Will it
succeed?America
reported
hostile to
England.

* As their union.

† With America.

May 24th. to attack us, it's more likely to be because they covet the Fortresses on the old French * line, or from a mistaken belief that we are exciting the Barbary States to plunder the *neutrals*. It's said these have lately taken above thirty sail. Mr. Jay is sent to England, I hope, to arrange ; here, one believes, *to declare war*.

Mr. Jay's mission.

The chateau at Meudon. What goes on there ?

I walked to Meudon last evening. I have vainly endeavoured for weeks to discover the secret of the Government works being carried on within the walls of *the old palace* there, but though we have despatched thither several parcels of dies with Republican Insignia, I can't imagine their probable use. They are directed to one *Batellier*, a Convention man, who is reported Manager of the works. V—— has heard, apparently on trustworthy

* *Sc. Canadian.*

authority, but at second hand, that there is May 24th.
 there maintained a *laboratorium* for all sorts
 of experiments in the *manufacture of Munitions of War* ; there are to be *flying machines*
 to cast shells into besieged towns and the
 like. I neither accept nor reject such stories
 entirely.* Last winter they fetched deputies Gunpowder
factories.
 from all the provinces to learn the gun-
 powder trade at the Government factories ;
 but that was carried on openly, and with
 much parade. *Dufourny*, the Manager, had
 them brought into the Convention, and
 harangued in the usual strain of *extinction*
of Tyrants, and the like. They even gave
 public free lectures on the method of the

* It was probably the mystery which surrounded the
 Château at Meudon which gave credence to the fable about
 a tannery of human skins established there. In the Musée
 Carnavalet, at Paris, is a tiny copy of the "Constitution of
 1793," which professes to be bound in human skin.

May 24th.

St. Just
irritates
Carnot.

manufacture of powder at the Archbishop's palace.* But I have for certain that the War Minister† profoundly resents the constant interference of *M. de St. Just*, and those who think with him, in the affairs of his Department; that quarrels in the Committee are of daily occurrence, and that the arrest of M. Carnot's orders, and even of his subordinates, whether at the seat of war or in Paris, is the most usual source of these explosions. Saint Just is hardly ever in Paris, being commissioned to the Army, but his appearances always bode evil to some leading personages. Also *Barère* is reported to be

Barère and
his orgies
at Clichy.

* The old Archevêché on the Isle of the Cité was often used, during the years 1793-94, as a sort of subsidiary Hôtel de Ville.

† Obviously Carnot; though he was not titular War Minister, his special function in the Committee was the War Office.

deeply discontented. He spends his days May 24th. in wild orgies at Clichy. When in the City, he dines at Méot's, in the Bons Enfants—the green-room there—with the Thévénin, or some other impudent courtesan of the old *and* the new *Régime*; but he comes to the Committee of nights, and he frequents the house of one *Villeneuve*, treasurer of the Municipality, in Rue Rousseau. *Dupin*, one of the worst of his *satellites*, is constantly there, and it seems that through Villeneuve's wife large sums of public money are transferred to Barère. This cannot be unknown to Robespierre, who is all for a parade of purity of administration, and has his spies everywhere. What may be the upshot I cannot tell, but I look forward to an explosion *between the Tyrants themselves* in a very few weeks. St. Just is said to be with

Probable
rupture in
the Govern-
ment.

May 27th. King Maximilian ; if that is so, he has more courage than any of them, and the blow may be struck, and the Dictatorship announced within the next few days. But the War Minister is a strong man too, and both he and Billaud will have to be reckoned with.

Acquittal of
Rosselin.

27th.—Here, too, is a piece of news : a man acquitted by the Tribunal who had spoken slightly of Robespierre. I have not read the incriminating words, and I was not at the trial, but the man is the redacteur of one of the leading news sheets, *Rosselin** by name. It is said that *His Majesty* is very much frightened at this accident, as the man passes generally for one of Danton's former followers.

Houdon the
sculptor, his
grievance.

30th.—The excellent M. Houdon,† the

* I have been unable to identify Rosselin.

† *Jean Antoine Houdon*, a sculptor, 1746-1829, afterwards

sculptor, has been ventilating his grievances May 30th.
 in a manner likely *to end in La Force*. He
 received last year a commission from the
 Government for a life-sized bronze Statue of
 the *Prophet of their new Apocalyps*, Rousseau,
 and had bestowed much labour on that
 design, and a little while back he learned
 that our masters had put up the making of
 the said Statue as a subject of public com-
 petition, so that his labour's lost. It is said
 that he turned his *Scholastica*, conceived
 originally in the form of a Saint, into a
Philosophy, to save his neck. He now claims
 to be the only * who took a mask from
 Rousseau's face after death, and it therefore
 seems reasonable he should execute the

professor at the Beaux Arts. He had visited America, and
 taken a bust of Washington.

* *Sic.*

June 1st. work. He's too much devoted to the Antique for my taste.

Petit has a beautiful copy of the *Louvre edition* of Buffon, with all the plates, in a fine early state, for sale. He asks an enormous sum—two thousand livres. Far beyond the prudence, if not the pocket, of any man in such times as these.

"God send
the end
quickly."

June 1st.—God send the end quickly. The heat of the weather is most oppressive ; even when one goes abroad in the evening, the lack of air to breathe seems a *Judgement of Heaven* on this City. I walked this evening to the Tavern of the Guard, at the Barrier on the Orleans Road. It is a pleasant place, with a pretty garden ; but the disgusting habit of smoking tobacco in all the coffee-houses poisons me. It was formerly the mode to do so only in the lowest *cabarets* ;

Heat of the
weather.

Tobacco-
smoking.

it was regarded as a mark of Dutch vulgarity and boorishness. I find many of the *patriot fashions* difficult to assume, but this one impossible, and shall no doubt soon become *suspect* in consequence. All the *Mucios Scaevolae* * were puffing their pipes there this evening. I have news from V—— that his English friends at *St. Omers* have been moved to *Amiens*, enduring the greatest sufferings on the journey. They are confined there pellmell with the prostitutes at the Bicêtre; they are fed by the District Authorities, all their money and valuables having been taken from them, and the women subjected to the grossest indignities short of actual rape. Some perished on the scaffold at *Arras*, which was their first halting-place from *St. Omer's*. Some have died in prison

June 1st.

Ill-treatment
of English
prisoners at
St. Omer,

* *Sic.*

June 3rd.

and elsewhere in France.

of foul air and starvation ; and when some of the English ladies tried to earn a few sous at making shirts, they were stopped at once, as no good Republican would wear a shirt made by an *Aristocrat*. V—— further assures me that he believes there are countrymen of our own in prison in many places in France, but of course I am not in a position to confirm this. He says that even Englishwomen, married to officers in the Republican Army, and thus by the Law of Nations (as well as the *Law of Nature*, of which these dull Tyrants never weary of prating) naturalised French subjects, have been imprisoned for the mere crime of their descent, while their husbands are at the Frontier !

Robespierre president of the Convention.

3rd.—I went to-day, *like a good patriot*, to see King Maximilian installed for his fortnight's Presidency of the National Convention.

It was not an imposing ceremony, and June 3rd.
 I was far back in the Gallery. But the Convention Chamber is *excellent for sound*, Internal arrangements of the hall.
 very different from the old Riding-school, where the first Assembly sat, and where the noise of the opening and shutting of doors and of footsteps in the wooden Galleries was quite bewildering. The internal arrangements of the room, too, were poor compared to this, which has the seat of the President and the Tribuna face to face, and an excellent light coming from one large window above. I noticed that a great number of Deputies Methods of voting.
 seemed to have *no fixed seats at all*, but would hover about at the foot of the *Rostrum* (from which the speeches must be made) and thus escape the voting whenever possible by moving from place to place. There not being, as in England, any regular system of

June 3rd.

Eagerness of
the deputies
to escape
notice.

lobbies and tellers, it's very rare that there are ever a hundred votes cast in any question ; and the eagerness, except among *Messieurs of the Faction*, to avoid speaking is even greater than the eagerness to speak, which was so marked a feature of the Versailles Assembly. Then there was not unfrequently some little scuffle on the steps of the Rostrum, between two or three *patriots burning to deliver their country*, and each believing that his own *Nostrum* was the only way to accomplish that ; now, patriot or no patriot, each man only burns to deliver his own head, and sees no particular prospect of doing so unless he can keep it covered up. The Groups of the various complexions, the early Republican party, the followers of Danton, the followers of the Duke of Orleans, formerly so compact and so animated, now

appear to have lost all cohesion, and each June 3rd. only seems anxious to be mistaken for *that which none can ever be*, the friend of Robespierre. On his lips, on his smile hang, for these poor wretches, life and death; and Terror of the Conventionals. were I in that Senate I should dread his smile even more than his frown. I have heard it whispered that vast lists of Proscribed are daily drawn up, but that the Committee find it impossible to agree upon the individuals (among the Conventionals); so they are spared for the moment. Others say that many are spared because more useful as a *solid voting mass* to the Government, in their present state of *terror*, than any who might have to be called up in their stead from among their substitutes.* He who is made

* One of the radical absurdities of all the early Revolution constitutions was the system of *deputés suppléans*, or

June 3rd. daily to feel that the *Sword of the Law* is suspended over him, while he is flattered and cajoled by being told that he is himself a *Sovereign Law Maker*, will never have the courage to strike a blow for Freedom. And there is another way in which fear may operate to produce a continuance of the present infamous state of things ; and that is, that the fear of being themselves victims, when the "*Counter Revolution*" (of which so much talk) arrives, persuades the Conventionals that they had best secure themselves, of all their personal enemies at least, against that day. There is in this mock Parliament no real speaking. Most read prepared

substitutes, elected in case any members should die during the whole period of the Assembly. Thus it became impossible for bye-elections to be held, or for the opinion of the country to be really tested.

discourses, and those of the President * are ^{June 3rd.} always of interminable length and dulness, ^{Robespierre as an orator,} only relieved by vague threats levelled at some *group of persons*, seldom or never at an individual. He has a terrible habit of stopping; just as you think him about to descend, he fixes his lenses to his eyes more firmly, takes a furtive look round, and goes on again. There is seldom loud applause—he is understood to dislike it,—but his speech is always voted to be printed and circulated, and the thanks of the Assembly rendered to him for deigning to speak. The *Peacock's* ^{and other orators.} flowery discourses are much more loudly clapped. I have never heard St. Just; but they say he is a really impressive orator at times. Practically, F—— says, every serious

* *St.* Robespierre. The Presidentship was a fortnightly office (*vide supra*, June 3rd).

June 5th. speech *has to be submitted to the Government Committee before it is made*; and men are found willing to speak from a paper with Robespierre's corrections on it!

Guffroy's case probably the prelude of a struggle.

5th.—Here is a fact of some importance, and very unexpected. Yesterday, *Monsieur Rougyff** led, at the Convention, a fierce attack on one of the worst of the Government satellites, Lebon, who is murdering at Arras under pretence of *Revolutionary justice*. Lebon used to be a priest, and, like all that sort, when they turn heathens, is of the bloodiest. There's no sort of question he's acting under Robespierre's orders, and any attack on him is a direct attack on the Government. Now, I didn't

* Guffroy, a fierce Montagnard and anti-Robespierrist, author of "*Rougyff en Vedette*." The speaking of him as "my Lord" probably refers to some nickname.

hear milord in the Convention, where I June 5th.
seldom go, but to-day I happened to be at
the Club, on Section business, and wit-
nessed the *second act of the play*; the third,
and perhaps more, yet for to come. Robe-
spierre is ill—*he looks like death*—and only
made some trivial speech afterwards, and
the main line of defence fell to that horrible
crippled wretch Couthon.* It was, of course,
no defence at all. Guffroy is probably
almost as bloody a villain as Couthon or
Lebon, but what is important is that the
tigers are quarrelling. Couthon confined
himself to denouncing, not so much Guffroy, Couthon de-
nounces the
press *en*
masse.
as the poor fool Rousseau † for inserting in

* Hesdin means to indicate that Couthon's reply to Guffroy's Convention speech was made at the Jacobin Club, not at the Convention.

† T. Rousseau, now editor of the *Journal de la Montagne*.

June 6th. the *Montagne* a fair account of G.'s speech, and then went on to denounce the public prints wholesale—*sold to Austria and Pitt, every one of them*, was the least word he said. It will cost Rousseau his head, and me the only comparatively honest source of information available: but if the opposition are united, it might go the other way. I partly suspect that a spirited article of Rousseau's against the mad old bawd * in the Contrescarpe is as much at the bottom of this as G.'s attack on Lebon.

Catherine
Théot.

Vadier the
Terrorist.

6th.—The *regular* Bureau of Police is in the hands of a Committee of the Convention in which *Vadier* † is the leading spirit. He

* Catherine Théot, who lived in the Rue Contrescarpe (*vide infra*, 16th).

† *Vadier*, born 1730, a ferocious Terrorist, quarrelled with Robespierre about Catherine Théot, was the leader in the

is almost the only person among these mad June 6th.
Democrats who is upwards of fifty years.

He has the *entrée* of Barère's *maisonnette* at Clichy ; no one knows why, for he is a hideous old creature, and can hardly be acceptable to the *ladies of the hareem* ; but I note the fact, because it is evident that he who is intimate at Clichy, is not intimate at 366,* between which the division grows more marked each day. It is therefore certain that Robespierre has a system of spies † of his own, over and above the Agents of this

Robespierre's private police in quarrel with the Committee of General Security.

Lesser Committee : escaped, by great luck, after Thermidor, and died in exile, 1828.

* Duplay's house in the St. Honoré, where Robespierre lodged.

† Robespierre's principal spy was Héron, already referred to. He began as a mere spy, but rose to be chief of Robespierre's secret bureau. Imprisoned after Thermidor, he managed to escape somehow, and died 1797.

June 6th. Committee of Vadier's, which goes by the name of the *General Security*. These infinite tribes of spies and agents have free tickets of entry to all places of amusement, and are specially entrusted with the task of entangling innocent men in their talk at the cafés and in the gardens. But nothing is more common than for this employ to be counterfeited by *private individuals who have a grudge against others*, and as men are frequently arrested and condemned to death on any man's denunciation, it is impossible to say who is an agent of the Committee, who an agent of Robespierre, and who a mere imitation of either. The insolence of the agents, too, is beyond belief, and is but little counterbalanced even by their venality. How many women have sacrificed their honour to save their husbands, and then

Spies and
counterspies.

seen themselves laughed at for their pains! June 6th.
*M. de par le Roi** was not invariably polite in old Paris. *M. de par la Loi* is naturally infinitely ruder, and a scoundrel to boot, which his predecessor was not. When a prisoner is arrested it's supposed to be the rule that a complete *inventorium* of his personal property, and especially of all arms and valuables found on him at the time, be forwarded to the Police Committee, who forward a copy of it to the Tribunal before his trial. But, as a matter of fact, not one-tenth of such articles is ever enregistered; and the plunder pays toll first to the *agent of arrest*, then to Vadier or Héron, or some such other arch-spy; and very little of it escapes their rapacious fingers to make its appearance before M. Fouquier. There is very little

Method of
the arrests of
individuals.

* Cf. Sterne's "Sentimental Journey."

June 7th. doubt that *Héron and Fouquier* have a perfect understanding, but that *Héron* is in very bad odour at the Committee. There are other public agents, with open commission from the Committee, who work in a much more public manner; they engage in a regular *hunt for suspected persons* with an armed Patrol in front of them, draw a force round some obscure cabaret, and then, even if the object of their search is flown, seldom fail of an arrest, as it does not look well *in their Profession* to return empty handed; the arrested person is always made to pay the expenses of his arrest. When the various grades of spies denounce each other, as frequently happens, honest men may derive from the circumstance the *proverbial comfort*.

"La chasse
aux sus-
pects."

Forecast of
the future—
peace or
war?

7th.—I cannot but feel that how unstable so ever the French Government may be,

there are two things less likely than its June 7th.
continuance in some Republican form. The Restoration, or Despotism?
first is *any real Restoration of the old Monarchy*,
such as is the universal hope of the Emigra-
tion. What M. de Calonne's * *great design*
may at present be, I am not informed, or
what his communications with our own
Government. I should never be surprised
at its being of the most desperate. Secondly,
if we grant the ultimate success of the Allies
with or without the aid of the Emigration,
will any lasting peace be established? Will Greed of the allies.
the Monarchy—the old, or the Constitutional,
or another—be able to satisfy its subjects or
maintain itself on the throne after it has

* Calonne, the former minister of Louis XVI., was the principal adviser of the exiled Emigrés, and managed their scanty finance. He was an adventurous man, who has probably been over severely judged by history.

June 7th. *payed us our wages?*—after it has satisfied the rapacity of Baron Thugut * with Flanders or Alsatia, Spain with a new and advantageous frontier on the Pyrenees? I say nothing of our own demands, but it is hardly to be supposed that some rearrangement of the *Colonial Balance* will be avoided. Have we, moreover, done so much to attach the Exiled Princes to ourselves? Was it wise to refuse to receive the Count of Artois to conduct the defence of Toulon? It is upon the bounty of the Empress of Russia that these Princes are now living. I mean to indicate that it seems to me not unlikely that the Monarchy, if restored, may once more precipitate France against England and Austria; I would almost say that the

* The Austrian minister—the “baleful star” of the first Coalition.

Monarchy *might purchase its restoration at* June 7th.
such a price. Such a War would indeed be
far other than the little affairs of 1740 and
1756; for I am persuaded that Russia, under
this great Sovereign, is of infinitely greater Dangers
from Russia.
any other Continental Power, and
a combination of Russia with the *Bourbons*
restored might be absolutely fatal to the
liberties of the world. Their remote geo-
graphical situation, which can never bring
them into conflict with each other; their
common present indifference to the rules of
civilised warfare and the Law of Nations.*
Nay, I sometimes imagine that an alliance Possible
alliance be-
tween Russia
and the
French Re-
public.
with the victorious Republick itself would
be far from unwelcome to Her Imperial
Majesty. France and Russia could unite
to give the law to Europe.

* *Sic*: the sentence is broken off here.

June 8th.
The "Fête
of the
Supreme
Being"

8th.—The great Festival of to-day,* in honour of the *New Religion*, which was to herald in, as I have long believed, the *New Monarchy*, was only a very partial success for our *yet uncrowned King*. It was a pretty ceremony, though nothing in comparison with the earlier Festivals of the Revolution. There was great enthusiasm at first, but mere
was a failure, weariness at last. In a word, the opportunity was missed. If, when the Statue was unveiled, Robespierre had sprung on to its pedestal, declared the Revolution closed, and claimed the crown of St. Louis from over a bristling hedge of *General Hanriot's* † *bayonets*, the day would have been his. I know that many persons fully believed he

* *Sc.* the "Fête of the Supreme Being."

† The Commandant of the National Guard, executed with Robespierre, 10th Therm.

would do so. But he evidently lacked June 8th.
 courage, or shrank from the consequence of
 a possible failure ; thus the whole thing
 turned out a mere tinsel performance for the
 gratification of one man, who yet is afraid
 to be gratified in the natural manner. I do
 not, nor does any one, believe the Revolution
 to be closed ; there are still *seven thousand*
political prisoners in Paris alone, and the day
 passed without a word of amnesty to them.
 Nor did it pass wholly without murmurs
 against *the Man* himself. M. Chenier's new
 hymn * was admirably rendered by the quire,
 to beautiful music by M. Gossec. The *Campus* and was
badly
arranged.

* "Source de vérité qu'outrage l'Imposture,
 De tout ce qui respire éternel protecteur,
 Dieu de la Liberté, Père de la Nature,
 Créateur et conservateur," etc.

(A long hymn of thirteen verses.)

June 8th. *Martius* is not in every respect well fitted for a fête: only those in the immediate neighbourhood of the *Mountain** could hear or see; the *desœuvrés* mostly sat upon the dike which surrounds the plain; there are *Trees of Liberty*, tents, and the like inconveniences which prevent a complete *coup-d'œil* from every corner. It was, besides, an ill-judged thing of the President to keep the procession waiting so long outside the Palace, on an extreme hot day, before he appeared. I, for one, took this for a certain sign that some *great coup* was intended, but it seems that it was only his feeble health that delayed him. I waited at

* The contemporary pictures of this festival show a huge pile of earth with a winding path to the top, intended to represent "the Mountain," the party which went by that name being the supposed bulwark of advanced opinion in the Convention.

the foot of *the Lucrece** for near two hours, June 12th.
 and never saw a French crowd so lifeless
 and dispirited. The *tiger*, then, has *missed*
his spring, if spring were intended, and we
 shall see if the *wolves* dare turn on him and
 worry him.†

12th.—We have not had long to wait. Fouché
versus Robe-
spierre.
 The plot thickens. *My Nantese friend*, whose
 devotion to Robespierre I have all along
 rightly suspected to be insincere, has been

* There was a statue of Lucretia in the Tuileries gardens,
 opposite the Pavillon Flore.

† It is interesting to see that Hesdin omits all mention of
 the traditionary accident, by which the statue of Wisdom was
blackened, and thus the effect of the fête spoiled. The story
 is, I believe, first found in Senart's "Memoirs," p. 185.
 Hesdin's silence is powerful evidence against its veracity.
 Further, it is to be noticed that his account differs in many
 particulars from the received ones, especially as to the long
 time spent in the Tuileries garden before the move to the
 Champ de Mars across the river.

June 12th. directly attacked by him at the Club. He is an ill man to quarrel with, for he has intimate relations with the dregs of all Parties, and will certainly find in the Police Committee,* if not in the Government, more than one voice to defend him. The strife between the two Committees is grown so great that they scarce meet, says he, without flying at each other's throats. In confirmation of this strife I am now assured that, as early as January, before the fall of the Party of Hébert, some approaches were made by Danton, or at least by his friends, to the Lesser Committee. Danton's secretary wrote a letter (which F—— has seen) to that body, which, under guise of attacking only Hébert, really attacked the Governmental despotism. It can't be doubted that,

* Comité de Sûreté Générale.

if this came to the ears of Maximilian at that time, it contributed to the destruction of Danton. He * lay abroad last night, and will shift from night to night to avoid Robespierre's minions. God keep him far from Rue St. Jacques. All that is certain at present is that the new † law has not passed without the greatest difficulty ; and that *M. Bourdon*, and a young man called *Tallien*, but lately returned to Paris, spared no pains to secure an adverse vote. Among those who are working against Robespierre in the matter is also the well-known Jacobin Lecointre.‡ He was a silk-mercant of

June 12th.
Probability
of a rapid
explosion.

Law of 22
Prairial.

Lecointre of
Versailles.

* "He" must be the "Nantese."

† The Law of the 22nd Prairial, which did away with almost all the formalities in the way of trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal.

‡ Laurent Lecointre, called "de Versailles," a leading Thermidorian ; afterwards denounced some of those who had

June 18th. Versailles and in command of the *National Guards* of that city on the day of the upset of '89. It's, perhaps, a rumour not without truth, that attributes his hostility to Royalty to a *recollection of unpaid bills*; but I believe him to be a "genuine Republican," and, therefore, as things now go, an enemy of the Government. I fear the Queen was too careless in her money matters. Mdle. Rose Bertin, her milliner, was owed enormous sums. Tallien* is a frothy gentleman, hardly of years of discretion; but he is spoken of, under breath, as a *man of his hands*. He was President of the Convention at the

Tallien.

acted with him, e.g. Collot and Barère; got into trouble for the conspiracy of Germinal, 1795; died 1805.

* Tallien was born 1769. He was, as is well known, *the* leader of the first attack on the 9th Thermidor, owing to the instance of his mistress, Theresa Fontenay, or Cabarrus. He had recently returned from Bordeaux.

beginning of the Hébertist business in March, June 12th.
 but has since been at Bordeaux. Be the
 Government united or not, the Law has laid
 the Conventionnals at its feet. Prisoners can
 now be tried in masses; counsel for the
 defence and all other formalities are swept
 aside, and the inviolable character of the
 Senate abrogated. I have ceased to keep
 any account of the executions, and I have
 not been to the *Place* since March; but the
 latest details are always repeated in my
 office the next morning, and it is impossible
 to avoid meeting the death cart at times.
 It is said that the guillotine is to be moved
 to the *East Square*,* beyond St. Antoine,

* *Place du Trône*, on the road to Vincennes. The guillotine
 was moved just about this time. It was moved back to the
 Place de la Révolution for the execution of the Robespierrists.
 A portion of the garden at the convent of the Picpus was used
 as a cemetery for this new place of execution.

The guillo-
 tine to be
 moved to
 the "East
 End."

June 16th. lest the number of victims and the imperfect arrangements for cleansing away the *horrible results of the executions* should breed a pestilence. Indeed there are constant complaints that the blood from the headless trunks has so fouled the neighbourhood of the new burying-ground in the Rue de Valois as to be dangerous to health; (that by the Madeleine, where the King and Queen were thrown, is full already). There is even difficulty in procuring sufficient quicklime to cast upon the bodies.

The women
worship
Robespierre
as a
Messiah.

16th.—There are all sorts of stories current about the admiration of the women for Robespierre, and the last is that an old woman of doubtful reputation * has declared

* This evidently refers to the affair of Catherine Théot and Dom Gerle, about which Robespierre's enemies were busy at the beginning of July: she is the "old bawd of the Contrescarpe" of the entry of June 5th.

him to be the *Messiah*, and herself his *Virgin Mother*. They say that his enemies in the Committee are working up something more than a laugh against him on the subject. It seems that the old lady holds receptions, and *acts the Prophetess from a Tripod*, assisted by a half-witted monk* and a blooming young widow† for *acolytes*—the latter is probably the attraction to those who go to listen to the ravings of this new *Mother of God*. Meanwhile, he‡ is reported to be in very ill health; and the lead of his party, if one can call it a party, to be slipping into the hands of St. Just. The latter is bent upon making a clean sweep of the existing orders of Society, and setting the world a-going again

June 16th.

Catherine
Théot
again.St. Just is a
man of ideas.

* Dom Gerle, the Carthusian.

† The widow Godfrey, or Godfroi.

‡ Robespierre.

June 16th. on a *purely primitive base*, in which private property shall have no place except for a time. This New World is to be founded on rural institutions: the American rural communities are perhaps in his mind. He fails to understand that such things cannot be *created by Laws*, but must be the effects of long-grown habits of Societies. To give to *every man in France two acres*, and compel him to cultivate it, is not the way to make him happy or a useful Citizen. Is it to be supposed that the inhabitants of the Cities will agree to such a scheme? France has been for many ages divided into *two Nations, the Rural and the Urbane*, and the hatred and distrust of each other, which are mutual, may be seen every day at the Barriers. To shew the lengths, however, to which these fanaticks are ready to go, there is recently

Will recon-
struct
society.

Rural and
Urban
France.

published an edict, which is understood to be June 16th.
 the work of St. Just, ordering all men *not in*
actual requisition for the armies to go and
 work upon the coming harvest. *Upon whose*
land are they to work? Who would employ
 the vile proletaries of St. Antoine on a clean
 field of corn? And what amount of work
 would they do? I would love, however, to
 see some of these creatures who call them- Hesdin's
practical
ideas on the
subject.
 selves *starving workmen*, and who never did
 a day's *honest toil* in their lives, turned out to
week work with the sickle, with a good *Vir-*
ginia thong at their back; and if that were his
 meaning, I would proclaim M. de St. Just a
 man of ideas. There is, further, to be a gigantic
 system of poor's relief; on whose pocket to be
 levied, when there will be no rich men left,
 doth not yet appear. But it is a fact that, Barère's
"aged in-
dustrial"
pension
scheme.
 not long ago, M. Barère gravely proposed in

June 16th. the Convention to allot a *pension to every aged industrial person*, to commence at sixty years of age, and for every widow who declares herself indigent, and can present three living children, the same. No poor's house or hospital is contemplated, but all succour to be distributed by agents of each Commune at the recipient's own home. Were such ideas not bolstered up by the inevitable primal necessity of *cutting off the heads* of all those who object or have anything to lose, one could perhaps find a certain wild grandeur in them. To some ages and some peoples they might not have been unsuitable, but here in blood-dripping Paris, in the middle of the most cowardly populace and the fiercest mob in Europe, enervated by centuries of Despotism and five years of hopeless Anarchy, the way to any peace or new order of things

can only be through the *sword, not the sickle*. June 17th.

Also it is sad to record that Mons. de St. Just, for all he holds his head so high as the *incarnation of Virtue and Terror*, was but a *mauvais-sujet* before the Revolution. His father* was, I believe, a Croix St. Louis, and, after his death, the young man ran away from college, appeared at the widow's house, and disappeared again with the family plate, which he melted down into *filles* and dinners at the Palais, till a *lettre de cachet* shut him up.

17th.—The prophecy that Mdle. Corday would have imitators is fulfilled, and the streets are ringing with the story of a daring attempt, by a poor girl from the City† to

* St. Just's father died when he was an infant, and the whole story has been very much questioned.

† *Cité*, the quarter of the "Island" and Nôtre Dame.

St. Just was
a bad cha-
racter before
1789.

Cécile
Regnault
and De
Batz.

June 19th. assassinate Robespierre and Duplay. It seems probable that she is mixed up in the intrigues of that hot-headed fellow de Batz.* It is not true that the death of one man, or of half a score of men, would overthrow this Government; and they are mad who dream it. But, if all tales be true, de Batz is a man who has frequently risked his life in similar projects; and the sceptre which would fall from Robespierre's hands might be seized by some less bloody-minded, or less popular scoundrel.

Fresh
emission of
assignats.

19th.—Order this day for fourteen hundred millions more of *State paper*, the first since I entered the office. I should guess there to be over *ten thousand millions worth* of this

* A half-mythical Royalist baron, on whom the Committee failed to lay their hands. The girl is, of course, Cécile Regnault.

so-called money in France at this moment. June 19th.

I do not know upon what guarantee they propose to redeem it; all the land of France would not sell for half the required sum: therefore, though there can be but one result in the long run, be it yet far distant, a *terrible and crushing Bankruptcy*, which will involve all the poor, as well as the few easy persons left, for the present we must live *without money and without credit*. The number of these latter (the easy) diminishes every day, for now that the true Aristocrats are pretty well exhausted as *food for the knife*, those who are newly enriched, are to suffer in their turn—sturdy peasant farmers, who have bought up bits of “*national property*,” find themselves involved in some imaginary plot, and before they have realised their situation, they are under the lunette.

June 19th. As all property of condemned persons *and their relatives* is at once confiscated, it is to the direct pecuniary interest of the Government to keep up the tale of executions. So great is the terror, that, in public and under the eyes of spies and within reach of M. Fouquier, these trumperies * are accepted at their nominal value. In private, and under the agio, I should guess them to be already depreciated far below fifty per centum. Yet, given a War that costs you perhaps *two hundred and fifty millions of livres per mensem*, a starving Paris to feed at another hundred millions, an army of half a million public officers and the most expensive and corrupt civil system the World ever saw, —given all this, and no taxes paid, your Colonies in revolt, your Commerce under a

“Coining money on the Place de la Révolution.”

Question of depreciation.

* *Sc.* the assignats.

cloud, all import except from Switzerland and the Hanseaticks stopped, all private Bank issues suppressed (the *Caisse d'Escompte* went liquidated before my return), and *you have no other way left than to live on paper, which is neither money nor credit.* A vast number of people suffered greatly by an Edict of last autumn, by which all the Royal paper was rendered worthless after the end of the year.*

21st.—Frenchmen! your national costume is to be improved; you are to wear one *more* *appropriate to Republican morality.* Citizen *David* has been seriously invited by the Government to consider the question, and to design *an universal dress.* The *absence*

June 21st.
“Republican dress”
to be
adopted.

* Probably the *arrêté* of August 30th, by which bank-notes bearing the head of Louis XVI. were demonetised after December 31, 1793.

June 21st. *of breeches*, at present only a dream of the orator, is doubtless now to be enforced in practice. Will any substitute be approved? From my present experience of *Republican morals* I imagine not: M. Maignol's *eau cephalique* * may cure these people's *sur-dity*; it would take more to cure their *absurdity*.

Arrest of a
Section
Committee;
why?

I have just heard of the arrest *en masse* of the Tournelle Committee;† one would have thought that if extreme ferocity of language and declamation could have stood any one in good stead, it would not have failed my good friend M. Testard. It is

* Probably some quack medicine for deafness (*sur-dité*).

† Probably that of the Section Indivisibilité, arrested June 20th. It may have got the name "Tournelle" because the Section contained the site upon which, till 1787, stood Louis XIV.'s arch of Triumph of that name.

not long since he payed *us** a Decadi† June 21st.
 visit, and came near to denouncing us in
 a body as *suspects* because of Viot's affair.
 We plied him with wine, however, and sent
 him and the whole of his Deputation away
 roaring drunk, and highly convinced of the
 patriotism of *these braves of the Panthéon*.
 I don't know the meaning of this move of
 the Government, but I expect it to be a
 piece of jealousy between the Montreuillards
 and the $\frac{15}{20}$ ‡ It is wonderful when one con-
 siders the applause when Hébert was con-
 demned how much life there is left in his tail.§

* Probably the section of the Panthéon is referred to.

† A "Sunday afternoon call" at their section hall pre-
 sumably. I cannot identify Testard or Viot.

‡ Section of the Quinze Vingts, adjoining St. Antoine.

§ I can find no evidence which will throw light on this
 passage. Montreuil was the section adjoining Quinze Vingts,
 from the Place de la Bastille to the Rue d'Aval.

June 24th. 24th.—There are a number of corn-mills
 at Étampes, from which the Municipality
 used to draw considerable supplies of flour.

Millers
 won't work
 —they shall
 be forced to.

The millers have refused to work, because such work has ceased to be profitable; and the Paris mob is hungry. *The millers shall be made to work.* By what right? By the sacred right that every man in a Republic hath to the property of another!

"Fraternal
 banquets."

I am glad that *Rue St. Jacques* is too steep for any to come and *make requisition* of my table and benches in order to spread a banquet in the street for all the dirty blackguards of the Quarter. These orgies, which they call *Fraternal Repasts*, usually end in drunkenness and insult to the women, but in the Sections where they prevail it is a mark of *Aristocracy* to refuse to assist at them. No private drinking of healths is

supposed to be allowed at them; you are June 25th.
to drink nothing but the "*Republican Family*."

By all accounts it's pretty well finished
with His Highness * in the Low Countries; Duke of York in retreat.
they say Ghent, Ostend, and Bruges have
fallen, and the French intend for Bruxelles.
I hope the Duke has not been cut off, though
it's not altogether unlikely. It's evident he
co-operated very badly with General Clerfay.†

25th.—I cannot repress a feeling of satis- Death of Buzot.
faction when I hear of the death by starvation
of some of the early *artists in revolution*.
'Tis said that M. Buzot,‡ one of the fanatick

* Duke of York.

† Clairfait and Cobourg were the two Austrian commanders in the Netherlands, now on the point of being evacuated. One finds throughout the "Miles Correspondence" strong evidence of the want of co-operation between the English and Austrian generals.

‡ Buzot, the celebrated Girondist, and lover of Madame Roland; proscribed in June 1793, he escaped from Paris,

June 25th. Republican party, who was loudest with the Rolands and the Brissots against Monarchy in the year '92, has been starved to death in the South, or, as some will have it, he has taken his own life for fear of starvation. I would rather have come and taken my trial: especially as it would have given him a chance to *set his tongue a-wagging once more, which was the exercise it loved best in life.* Mr. *Brothers* himself could not believe more fanaticly in his credo than did these Gironde gentry in theirs, nor boast of it more loudly. Madame, his wife, will at least not be sorry. She was after a divorce about the time I arrived in Paris, but whether

Madame
Buzot wants
a divorce.

and hoped to raise an insurrection in favour of the Gironde. His body was found devoured by wolves, together with that of his colleague Jerome Pétion, near St. Émilion, June 17th.

she obtained it or not, I know not : indeed it June 25th.
costs little trouble.

Will it be believed that there are men who make a trade of hawking about the streets the printed speeches of the favourites of the National Convention, as the confession of a criminal is hawked round his gibbet. There are even booksellers who make a trade of collecting this dreary stuff, in the vain hope that when the *Revolution has devoured its children* there will be any one left to buy the History of the process. A most worthy fool, called Rondonneau—the same, if I mistake not, whose parents shewed much kindness to my brother in former days at Orléans, and who has been employed under several successive Governments in the Library way—was in trouble the other day for some business of this kind : his shop in St. Nicaise

Revolution
literature
collected.

June 29th. has been sealed up. There is a little black scoundrel * too, who boasts that he pulled sheets for Marat, and is said to have already made a fortune by selling old numbers of the *People's Friend*; these wares are not at the *maximum*.

Disturbance
in Section
Luxem-
bourg.

29th.—Another great Sectional disturbance at our *Roman friends'*† *to the West*. They have arrested a poor old man called *Lelievre*, who sells old clothes and is drum major of his Battalion, for making a mock at their *left-handed appellation* which all good Republicans ought to pronounce with respect. So dangerous is it become to insult the *Majesty of the Sovereign People*. If Robespierre wants a

* Can this be Collin, mentioned by Croker (iii. 316) as having been in later years one of his agents for purchasing pamphlets, and having introduced him to Albertine Marat?

† Section Mutius Scævola, *ndc* Luxembourg.

pack of hell hounds to serve his purpose, June 29th.
he will find them at the Luxemburg. They
gravely proposed to *déblayer* the Carmelites' Long digression on the prisons.
prison the other day, to *make a new September*,
as the phrase goes. I have been obliged to
visit, during my stay, in the performance of
official duties, several of the principal prisons,
and the sights that I have seen therein would
bring tears to the eyes of any but a Republican.
Undoubtedly the most humane, or rather the
least inhumane, though the most gloomy, is
the *Conciergerie* on the Island. It is in the The Conciergerie.
same building as the *Tribunal of Blood*, and
prisoners are but seldom brought thither
except on their way to their trial. The late
Queen was confined there for a long period
however, and some of the early Republick *
party in the autumn of last year. *Mdme.*

* He generally speaks of the Girondists under this name.

June 29th. *Richard*, the wife of the principal turnkey, is a good and humane woman. She shewed me the hair of *Mdlle. Corday* who assassinated Marat, and she says that it is not uncommon for victims to present her with such memorials of themselves. She and her husband were arrested in consequence of some pretended attempt at enlarging the Queen last autumn, but were restored to their posts in the spring.

Other prisons. But there are few instances of custodians of this type. The majority of the turnkeys are the most drunken, brutal ruffians imaginable. The utter contempt for all forms of justice since the recent infamous law is well illustrated by the prevailing belief that the lists of the condemned are often altered by the turnkeys themselves, that women frequently sell their honour in order to get their husbands' names struck off the list, and that men are

executed *without ever being on the register at* June 29th.
all. As for the payments to be made by those who have anything to pay, these are of course exorbitant: the food is supplied by contract by a tavern-keeper from outside; horrible diseases are spread by the *putrid herrings* which often form the staple diet of delicately nurtured ladies and helpless old gentlemen. I have heard of a gaoler demanding a *pot de vin* of eighteen hundred livres from a prisoner to, as we say in England, *pay his footing*; and the rent of a room will vary from twelve hundred livres per mensem down to nothing. My own belief is, that you *could get out of some prisons if you could pay enough.* The smaller ones, like the *Filles Anglaises* and *Saint Pelagia's Convent*, are ridiculously insufficiently guarded; generally five or six drunken Blues, playing dice and

June 29th. smoking with the turnkeys, form the sole defence ; and visitors are admitted pellmell, if they can see the entry. The class that fares best in the prisons is naturally that one which is accustomed to them from its youth up, and which spends its time in making them a Hell to those who are not. It is noteworthy that *highway robbery* and all kinds of violent crimes have increased with fearful rapidity under the Republick. Five miles from Paris the roads are utterly unsafe, and the small Communes round, such as Vincennes and Bourg la Reine, are nests of thieves. These wretches are, of course, lodged in the worst styes in the prisons, but so are all who have not the wherewithal to fee: and in the Courtyard all are allowed to mix equally. There is nothing but heaps of straw, infested with vermin and never changed, for the beds of

Increase of
ordinary
crime, espe-
cially round
Paris.

the poor. The Convents of the English Benedictine and Austinian Nuns, as well as the Scots College, have been made into prisons, and all their property confiscated, and many of the inmates and collegians sent to the scaffold. The blood of the victims* still stains the walls at the Abbey, and is pointed out with glee by the brutal turnkeys (with a *ça ira*) to any new prisoner who is admitted. By way, one supposes, of irony, in the court-yard of the Force there is an *altar to Liberty*, surmounted by an enormous rough-hewn statue of *Monsieur Rousseau*. There are plenty of priests in prison, but, as there have been few martyred of late, it is supposed that the Government finds them useful where they are, in counselling Christian patience rather than any attempt at

June 29th.

* That is, the victims of the massacres in September, 1792.

June 29th. insurrection. For this word *insurrection in the prisons* is the bugbear of the cowardly scoundrels who maintain them. They veritably fear it, and are constantly inventing plots whereby a clean sweep of some prison or other may be made. I do not see what means of conspiracy these poor people have got, and there must be many among them who feel safer within the walls than outside of them. It is not at all impossible for a man to be forgotten in the prisons, as in the old days of the Bastilles and the Castles of If. The utter want of *precautions for wholesomeness* may, however, in such a hot summer as this, relieve the Government of the whole contents of the Force or the Abbey without troubling them to work the guillotine. There is no proper prison hospital, though there has recently been some talk of turning the

Prison
hospitals do
not exist.

cy-devant *palace of the Archbishop* on the June 29th.
Island into such. The prison doctors seem to know but one remedy—the letting blood: doubtless the best and safest of all medicines under ordinary circumstances, yet of questionable advantage when applied to the emaciated bodies of men fed upon such food as these poor *suspects* and deprived of air and exercise to such extent. The probability of a new and wholesale massacre in all the prisons (such as Danton's was), though constantly present in men's minds, does not seem to me to be great. It *may* be resolved in some moment of more than ordinary cowardice by the Faction; it *may* be an essential part of St. Just's scheme for a New France: but there is no need of it. People are being Rate of executions.
guillotined while I write, at the rate of forty, fifty, nay sixty per diem, and not the slightest

June 30th. sign of resistance from the prisons has been manifested, nay, hardly an instance of reluctance to mount the scaffold.

Battle of
Fleurus.

30th.—The festival held to celebrate the recent victory of General Jourdan,* was a much more spontaneous affair than the great one of the 8th. Yet nothing but a reverse to French arms can bring any relief to us. They say the Austrian Minister† has sold the Low Countries to Robespierre; who knows? who cares? The World outside France seems as incapable as the World inside is wicked. This wicked World is just now inaugurating a new, or rather an old, fashion, *that of wigs*. All the women are

Women's
wigs.

* The battle of Fleurus, whereby the Netherlands were for the second time laid open to French arms (June 26th).

† Baron Thugut. For his negotiation with the French Government through Carletti, which may be here referred to, see Von Sybel, vol. iv. p. 340.

to wear wigs; and every one's hair has suddenly become fair! Let us talk of wigs, politics are a forbidden topick! July 1st.

July 1st.—The same persistent rumour of negotiation going on by the mediation of an Italian Envoyé. I can discover no more; but F——'s belief is that the affront to the Republick of the arrest of its Ambassador, last August,* sticks more in the way of an accommodation than any serious tenacity about the Belgic Departments. F—— is, moreover, of opinion that it is not Robespierre who concerns himself with diplomattick,† and that St. Just is utterly opposed to any sort of Treaty. The more practical men, *like the War Office Authorities*, would jump at

* A probable reference to the imprisonment of Sémonville on his way to Constantinople, in August, 1793.

† *Sic.*

July 1st. any accommodation with the Eastern Powers which would enable them to turn their whole strength against Us. That the Naval Authorities, if one can speak of such as existing in the *utter disorganisation of the French Navy and Dockyard service*, intend a plan of some kind, which may possibly include a descent on Ireland, is pretty sure. The only thing of certain that I can discover, is that they hope, by a few Expeditions against the less protected of our Colonies, to *draw the British Fleet from the home waters*.* V—— declares that he has certainty that the *Guinea Coast*† will be one of the first objects, and has sent, by the usual channel, information to that effect. *John Bull* will growl grievously if

Disorganisa-
tion of Navy.

* Afterwards Villeneuve's well-known plan.

† There was a French expedition against Sierra Leone in October of this same year.

he wakes up to find a few of his little *outlying valuables* stolen. Meanwhile they make as much fuss over a few Jersey smacks as if there had never been a Lord Howe or a Battle of Ushant.* Their cruelty to the captured sailors is always extreme, but it's to be hoped our jolly tars are not slow to retaliate on their damned *chase Marys*.†

July and.

2nd.—The Churches continue open with more and more freedom—a sort of contemptuous toleration is professedly extended towards them. Is this the beginning of a return in the direction of common sense or not? For as I have always believed, the failure of the Revolution lies in its *failure to make a Religion*. There may be a few

The churches continue open.

* The battle known as the 1st of June.

† *Chasse Marie*, a Breton fishing smack, called a "Chase-Mary" by English sailors.

July 2nd. sincere fanaticks in favour of the *Feasts of Reason*; there can be none for the impalpable nonsense Robespierre would put in its stead; he will not long fail to recognise this. One of the most amusing things, if anything can be considered so now and here, is to go on *their Sundays* to the Churches which are not Catholick, and hear little children, who can hardly speak plain, recite the so-called *Republican Commandments*. I wonder what their idea of a *Tyrant* is; perhaps the schoolmaster's tawse. There is a regular *ordering of service* in some Churches—Our Lady's and St. Lawrence's, for instance; first the hymn of Marseilles—the Rights of Man—not the Duties of Man, mark you—one of Chenier's hymns, the *Republican Commandments*, and a *sermon* from some donkey in a *red cap and a*

"Republican"
services in
them.

tricolour scarf, generally a great deal about July 2nd. himself and a little about some recent deed of daring of some young *Hero of the Republic* on the frontiers. So poor is the invention of us worms! Most of the church furniture is, however, stripped and sold (I attended a great market of it at Auteuil at the beginning of the year). The sale of the church lands continues, together with that Sales of lands of Church and Emigrés. of the Nobles of the Emigration, and most of the personal property of the latter has already found its way to the Hôtel de Bullion.* I have been assured that the Government has disposed of land worth half a million of livres during the past month of June only; but what buyers can be found, except the most reckless of those who formerly lived by the Bourse, I don't know.

* The leading auction-rooms in Paris.

July 4th. 4th.—The Block-houses at the Barriers are now to be called National Monuments, and used for enscribing* in letters of bronze the Acts and Epochs of the Republick thereon.† We, *the artists of the said Republick*, to be invited to design decorations for them. They will probably be filled with *Barras*‡ and *Violas*, who are now the leading favourite *martyrs of liberty*, and have quite supplanted *Marat and Lepelletier*. These Block-houses were no doubt intended at one time to be used as barrack-houses for troops, some of them being very much larger than would

Block-houses at the city gates.

* *Sic.*

† *Sic.*

‡ Barra was a boy of fourteen, killed in fighting the Vendéans, in December, 1793. Viala, a boy of thirteen, who is reported to have been shot down while cutting the cable which tied together the pontoons over the Durance, near Avignon, June, 1793. Both were buried in the Panthéon, and had a great feast celebrated in their honour, July 11, 1794.

be needed for the mere taking of *octroi*. In July 4th. my younger days they were often being altered. I think it can't ever have been out of the mind of the old Government that Paris might at any moment have to be held down by force; the enormous walls—— *

Politics seem to be asleep, and all hope of resistance at an end; the yoke is to be eternal; the bloodshed perpetual, if men can be born fast enough to feed the fire. Vieusac† is buried at Clichy, and only emerges to flatter his brother Tyrants; St. Just more firmly seated than ever; Carnot reduced to silence; Billaud completely at one with Robespierre; the Police Committee and the Nantese trembling for their heads. But Robespierre is undoubtedly ill, and that

"Politics are asleep"—
there is no
hope left.

* Here the entry breaks off.

† Barère.

July 4th. St. Just looks to succeed him there can be no doubt. The lists of the proscribed are partly compounded at Clichy, under the influence of the horrible women De Mahé and Bonnefoi, whom he* keeps there. No one of the Government, except the dramatist Collot, who is of little weight, ever goes there. There is little to do in our work-room, and the heat in and out of doors is almost insupportable. Black Nicolas, the printer,† is for ever thrusting his ugly face in upon me. I think he is a spy, yet it is not the least strange among the circumstances of this strange time to see a negro sitting on the Bench and judging the best blood of France for eighteen livres per

* *Sc.* Barère.

† One of the jurors of the Tribunal and one of Robespierre's "gardenes," guillotined 12th Thermidor. I find no mention of his being a negro : probably it means he had black blood in him.

diem. I made some excuse to call at his July 7th.
lodging in the old poultry-mart near St.
Michael's Bridge, but found the door barri-
caded. The Government talk openly of
suppressing all Newspapers, except the official
Gazette, which is "to form Public Opinion."
'Tis the last resort of silent and coward
Tyranny.

7th.—A Pyramid is to be erected, says this A Pyramid
to be erected
at Calais.
good Monsieur Rousseau, on the Pas de
Calais, on which is to be graven the oath
of twenty-five millions of Frenchmen to
destroy this execrable English Nation—*an*
oath sublime, says he, *which will work*
miracles! for Nature already blushes that
she created the English race, et cætera, et cæ-
tera! It must be understood that we need
this sort of stuff to keep us *at the height of*
the Revolution. I shall expect to see the

July 7th. ingenious Palloy* make little models of this Pyramid to carry as cockade-pins, as we used to carry Bastilles in '89. I hope, if I ever escape, the said Pyramid will be visible from St. Margaret's with a good ship's glass!

Air balloons But I fear before that day we shall have M. Coutel† over the water, with a new-fashioned *ballon*, and a French Army in its wame.‡ I am told that this Aeronaute contributed largely to General Jourdan's victory, by an ascent of one of his windships to a height from which he could safely observe the motions of the Austrian Army. With many follies, the Government often propa-

* Palloy, "le Patriote," was a stone-cutter who presented a Bastille model to the Convention in 1790, and generally lived by selling models made out of its stones. He was nearly arrested for driving too profitable a trade at this, but escaped. He died 1835.

† Coutelle, the aeronaut.

‡ Its inside : another Scotticism.

gates scientific improvements in Military art July 11th.
 —witness the *Aerial Telegraphes of the Mes-* and tele-
*sieurs Chapp**—and we are now to see a graphs.
 ballon attached to every army.

11th.—There have been over a hundred More blood-
 and fifty persons executed during the last shed.
 three days, for a *conspiracy* in the Luxemburg
 prison. It is hardly credible that such a
 systematic butchery should be without some
 cause, yet the number of women and even
 of children whose heads have rolled upon
 the *Altar of Equality* give some colour to the
 belief that the whole thing is an invention
 of Herman,† Lejeune,‡ and Laune, got up

* La Chappe, the inventor of the signal telegraph, first used in 1793.

† Herman, born 1759, President of the Revolutionary Tribunal, fell with Robespierre.

‡ Lejeune, a police spy and a Conventional, often *en mission*; died in exile, 1820. Laune I cannot identify.

July 11th. in order to avoid the expense of feeding the poor creatures. Yet so great is the corruption, that I should fancy it would be more to the interest of these worthies (through whose hands the monies for the prison aliment would have to pass) to keep their victims alive. The same complaint is now made of the pestilential exhalation from the dead bodies in the Eastern quarter, which I noted some time previous in the West.

New cemetery at the
"East End."

They have a new burying-ground in the Convent garden of Picpus, handy for the Trône guillotine. Even the Theatres seem deserted, and no wonder! The "Republick," which, since the closing of the "National" last year has been the leading playhouse, has found itself in such a beggarly condition, that it has had to apply to the Government for a few thousand livres to pay the wages of its

New theatres.

players. Even the most stupid Jacobin will yawn, after a few representations, at such pieces as the *Death of Marat*, and the *Last Judgement of Kings!** The loss on the "Republick" has been twenty thousand livres per mensem. A feeble attempt to revive some of the old glories of the *Comedy* in St. Germain's Street, has failed miserably, although the vast new building there bears the title of "The Equality," and has no boxes.

14th.—A furious and open attack of the sick man† on the Nantais—this at the Club only. It is wonderful that nothing comes of it in the Convention. Meanwhile, I have

July 14th.
Fouché
again
attacked.

* *Le Dernier jugement des Rois*, by Sylvain Maréchal, was first played at the Théâtre de la République, October 18, 1793.

† Robespierre.

July 14th. received a present of two hundred livres from my masters for my "Mountain," and if my next is equally satisfactory to the *Great Man*, may soon look to be able to *bribe a passport!* though he complains that my "Victory" is not sufficiently classick.* How vile and tasteless are the new designs for the transformation of the Panthéon!† I never admired Couston's originals much; but this is sheer naked limbs—bad antique and cheap antique.

The
Panthéon.

* This must refer to medals or designs executed, or to be executed. The "great man" is probably David. The work of Hesdin as an official in regular pay would be exempt from the scrutiny of the Jury des Arts. The date of this entry makes it possible that the "Victory" is a medal to commemorate Fleurus. The reference to "bribing a passport" must be, of course, ironical: Hesdin would not be likely to be in want of money.

† He means the transformation of the Church of St. Geneviève into the Panthéon, which went on from 1791-1799 at intervals.

Voltaire's remains are still in the vaults, enclosed in a large wooden box, and nothing done towards his marble tomb but *the* July 15th.
vote.

15th.—What we English have to expect at the peace, if peace should ever be restored, is apparent from the following *enlightened commercial view*, expressed in a weekly news-sheet here a few days ago—that the interest of England depended wholly on her exports and on the Slave trade; no other method of ruining her is needful but to *persuade all European countries to close their Ports to her and abolish that branch of commerce.* “We will exclude men of no colour from our ports except *Englishmen and Tyrants.*” Meanwhile, if the Low Countries are really abandoned, the Mynheers will have no choice but declare for a Republick. I dare wager there won't

The “continental system” fore-shadowed.

Danger of Holland.

July 19th. be fifty voices for *Oranje boven* * in Amsterdam.

Mockery of
the trials of
prisoners.

19th.—It's said that *Legrise*, the clerk, often fills up the charge-sheets at the Tribunal in blank, and that the judges sign *blank condemnations* for use afterwards, so that any private enemies of the Government may be sent to the scaffold without even their pretended form of trial. When there is a large batch of prisoners to be butchered in one day, and the Judges grow weary, the President puts a question *pro formâ* to each of them, and then addressing them ferociously or ironically, cuts short their answer with "*Tu n'as pas la parole*," or "*You were a noble*," and "*You were a priest*," "*Away with him*," and the like. There have been

* "*Vive l'Orange*;" the Stadtholderate was very unpopular, especially in the province of Holland.

instances of priests who have thrown away July 20th.

their own lives by appearing to give the sign of absolution to their penitents on the way to the scaffold. There was a boy of sixteen among the victims to-day; what can he have done? It is impossible to arrive at the actual numbers of those now in the prisons, nor have I kept any regular list of the condemned; but to the best of my recollection, *over twenty-five hundred persons* have perished on the scaffold since the beginning of this year; and, to shew the fearful rate of accelerated progress of the bloodshed, *eight hundred of these during the last four weeks.**

Eight hundred persons
guillotined
in a month.

20th.—Now that the bells of the Churches

* Really the rate was somewhat faster; over thirteen hundred perished between the Law of the 22nd Prairial and the 9th Thermidor.

July 20th. have been stolen and melted down, the *bell-ropes* are to be taken also, to be made into hempen cables to supply M. Jambon, who finds some deficiency of hemp. I would to God they were put to their *right use*—to hang him in and all his fellows. I walked to try and get a little breathing space to the Jardin des Plantes—'tis a favourite place for the *Aristocracy of the Revolution* to dine: choke full of spies, too, as every such place is—every flower-girl with her bunch of roses you know to be in Hérons * pay, just as they were in Hébert's in '92 and '93. These pretty creatures have had for years a right prescriptive to enter all cafés and public places, and even private houses, whenever there is an Assembly. Since the wild beasts

The Jardin
des Plantes.

The wild
beasts re-
moved
thither from
Versailles.

* Héron was the chief of Robespierre's *private* police (*vide supra*, p. 149).

from Versailles have been moved to this July 20th.
 place, they are kept in an enclosure close
 down by the River bank. I think it would
 break the heart of poor old M. Leroy,* were
 he alive, to witness the filthy condition of
 his favourite old Lion, covered with sores and
 vermin, and tormented by the Parisian sans-
 culottes *because he was a King*. I remember
 him lying with a *favourite dog between his*
paws in his old home. The Beasts are not Dismantling
of the royal
palaces at
Versailles.
 the only thing of which the Palace has been
 stripped; the Government has very wisely,
 to prevent worse mischief, been steadily
 transporting to the Louvre all the best works
 of Art from thence: the rest is to be broken
 up, and all traces of a past splendour effaced.

* C. George Leroy, keeper of the King's wild beasts at Versailles, and author of "Lettres sur les Animaux;" died in 1789.

July 20th. It's not at present for sale, there being probably the intention to use it as a cannon foundry, or the like ; but *Trianon* is for sale, and even now has a notice to that effect over its gateway. Versailles, like all the district round Paris, is a nest of thieves. Once it had a population of sixty thousand, and is said to have lost five-sixths of that in five

Fine harvest
of 1794.

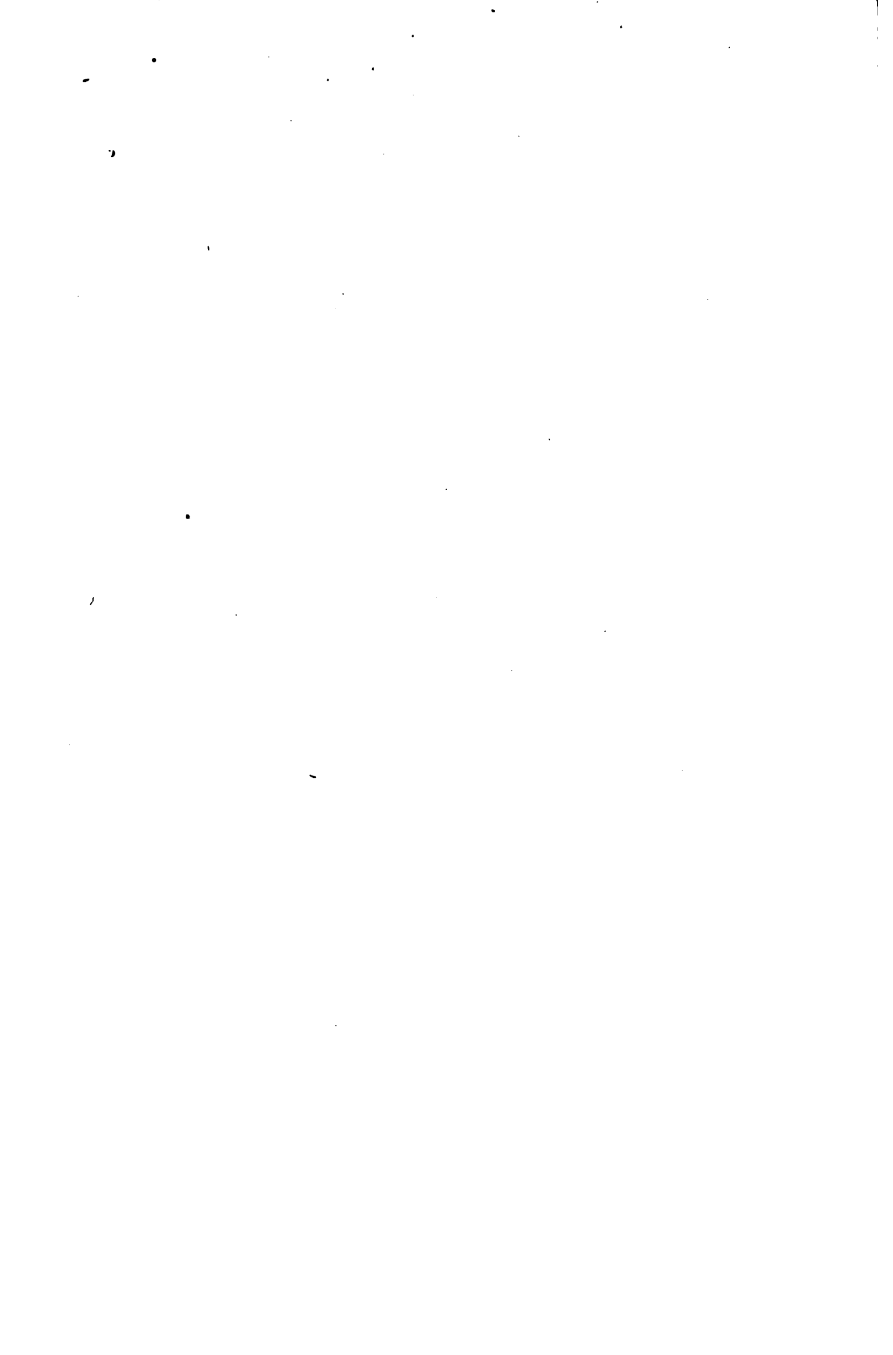
years. The first returns of the year's crop are beginning to be sold. It is to be a wonderful harvest, if any survive to eat of it ; but there is no doubt that the Tariff Law has fixed the price* far too low in proportion to that of other commodities. The Government regards the farmer as a sort of officer, who owes a strict account to them of what he produces. Yet, whenever the vile plan of forced requisition at less than

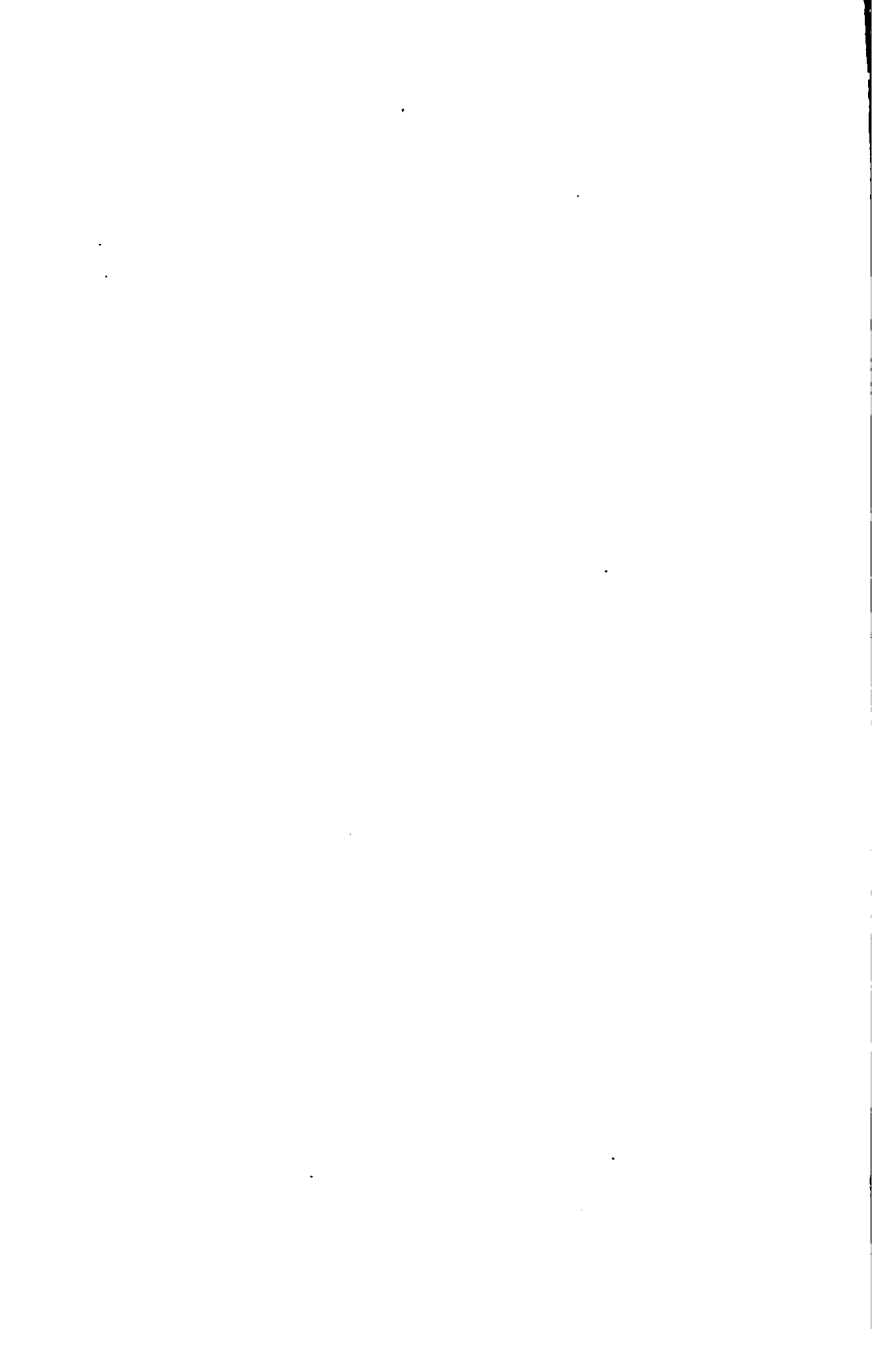
* *Sc.* of corn.

the cost of the produce shall be abandoned, July 20th.
as it must be one day, it will be found that
this is the class which has gained most by
the Revolution; and, most of all, the wine-
growers have gained, and it seems that there
are greater facilities for them to evade the
Tariff than for the Farmers. The differences
in the cost of produce in each District, the
inequality with which the cost of its trans-
portation is calculated, the universal cor-
ruption among the innumerable scoundrels
who are entrusted with the management,
render their *boasted maximum* a mere absur-
dity, or a mere instrument of terror imposed
upon the inhabitants——*

* Here the journal comes to an abrupt conclusion on the very eve of the overthrow of the Terrorist Government. The date given on the cover seems, however, to favour the view suggested in the preface, that many leaves are lost at the end.

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